

YUGOSLAVIA'S SUNNY SIDE

A HISTORY OF TOURISM IN SOCIALISM (1950s–1980s)

Edited by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor



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Central European University Press
Budapest–New York

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Published in 2010 by

Central European University Press

An imprint of the

Central European University Share Company

Nádor utca 11, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary

Tel: +36-1-327-3138 or 327-3000

Fax: +36-1-327-3183

E-mail: ceupress@ceu.hu

Website: www.ceupress.com

400 West 59th Street, New York NY 10019, USA

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ISBN 978-963-9776-69-2 cloth

Yugoslavia's sunny side : a history of tourism in socialism (1950s-1980s) /
edited by Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-9639776692 (hardbound)

1. Tourism--Yugoslavia. 2. Communism--Yugoslavia. I. Grandits, Hannes.
II. Taylor, Karin. III. Title.

G155.Y8Y84 2010

338.4'791497--dc22

2010011443

Printed in Hungary by
Akaprint Kft., Budapest

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Acknowledgements

First of all, many thanks to the contributors of this volume who provided us in their essays with rich empirical evidence and illuminating analyses of various aspects of Yugoslav tourism development between the 1950s and 1980s. It was a pleasure to collaborate during our workshop at the University of Graz, as well as in the process of revising the essays and transforming them into final versions. Igor Duda and Dragan Popović were much appreciated members of the research project “Tourism and Leisure Culture in Socialist Yugoslavia,” which formed the framework for this joint book endeavor. The project (P18153-G04; April 2005 to August 2008) was made possible by the generous support of the Austrian Science Fund (FWF). We would also like to express our gratitude to the project’s host institution, the Centre for Southeast European History at the University of Graz, headed by Karl Kaser.

We are indebted to Sunniva Greve who worked with patience to proofread several of the contributions, and thanks also go to Sabine Krammer who helped with formatting the final manuscript.

Research for this book was supported by numerous interviews and the comments of collaborators and friends. In Croatia, we especially thank Hrvoje Budak for his persistence in collecting interviews and gaining access to occasionally skeptical institutions. Many thanks also to Vinko and Marijeta Stagličić in Biograd na Moru, and Dr. Miroslav Jelić in Zagreb who contributed key documents and biographical accounts. In both Serbia and Montenegro, Lidiya Popović and Ivana Dobrivojević energetically assisted our research, while Spomenka Krajčević provided steady encouragement and vital insights.

The collection as a whole also benefited greatly from the thoughtful comments of Wendy Bracewell and Ulf Brunnbauer.

Preface: Some Contexts for Yugoslav Tourism History

John K. Walton

A quarter of a century ago an elderly lady of my acquaintance, who had spent most of her life in a deeply provincial small town in northern England, used regularly to holiday in Yugoslavia. Her politics were unthinkingly of the Right: she was a stalwart supporter of the British Conservative Party and of Margaret Thatcher, and after a lifetime of reading the right-wing British press she was automatically opposed to socialism in any shape or form. But she loved Yugoslavia passionately. She did not regard it as “communist,” in the pejorative Cold War sense, and extolled the friendliness and freedom of its people as she “knew” them, in the classic style of an inquisitive tourist with nothing beyond a courtesy vocabulary in the language. This perception, common to many British visitors to socialist Yugoslavia, resonates perfectly with the stereotypes about Yugoslav exceptionalism and hybridity that are interrogated and partially endorsed, in carefully nuanced ways, in this excellent book. I am honored to have been invited to write this preface, and take great pleasure in doing so.

Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor have put together probably the best single volume on the history of post-war tourism in any individual country, albeit one that no longer exists. It examines both domestic and international tourism, with an overwhelming emphasis on the former, which is unusual (certainly for a country with a Mediterranean seaboard) and refreshing. Club Méditerranée makes a fleeting (indeed tantalizing) appearance, but the actors in these dramas are not the international tourism companies who dominate so much of the literature, but Yugoslav organizations, agencies, and especially individuals, from Tito himself (in guises ranging from acerbic commentator on “wild” tourism development, to object of pilgrimage to a shrine and outdoor museum established during his lifetime) to a spectrum of

“workers and intellectuals,” including mechanics and shop assistants. The book relates tourism systematically to economic and political change, and to the Yugoslav socialist project of building a nation in “brotherhood and unity.” Indeed, the political dimension is of outstanding importance, as the relationships between tourism and the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies of the Yugoslav state, together with the recurrent evidence of Tito’s own direct involvement in tourism policy and the role of tourism in consolidating the legitimacy of the post-war (and post-1948) settlement, constitute a central political theme running through the book. The book also returns repeatedly to such themes as the availability of time and space for the enjoyment of leisure (not necessarily in ways that were over-determined by the state’s drive to propaganda and control), the increasing accessibility of travel within and beyond the country’s boundaries, the opportunity to enjoy a measure of discretionary spending on consumer goods, and the expanding scope for the ownership of private property and small businesses.

A feature of all the chapters is the imaginative and enterprising use of source material, including oral history, which helps to uncover the “unofficial” side of (especially) domestic tourism, the complexity of family economies, the importance of personal relationships and bending the rules, the development of the week-end retreat (often without benefit of planning permission or cost of local taxation payments), the meanings of consumption, and the relationships between ideology and experience, between the personal and the political, as people carved spaces for the expression of individual identity and informal bonding within the interstices of the regime. Change over time, variation between places and republics, tensions between the individual, the family, the friendship group, and the imagined “collective,” and questions of age and gender are all examined. So is the nature of Yugoslavia’s idiosyncratic version of a consumer society, which seems to have been more concerned with offering free time and personal fulfillment than a cornucopia of consumer goods, attractive though the latter were when visitors from the “West” displayed them at resorts or when the opportunity arose to enjoy cross-border shopping. Gary Cross’s thesis that, in inter-war Britain and the United States, the enduring triumph of consumerism led to income maximization being preferred to expanded free time, seems to stand in revealing contrast with the Yugoslav experience, although we must also remember the evidence for widespread

reluctance to take holidays away from home, together with the extent of moonlighting and weekend work on smallholdings, that this research also reveals.¹

The book is so effectively “topped and tailed” by the clearly-signposted Introduction, together with the concluding reflections by Patrick Patterson (which set such a stimulating and assumption-questioning agenda for further work), that there is little need for further comment from an outsider on its actual content. Some contextual remarks might, however, be helpful. Research on the history of tourism in Europe has been disproportionately directed to the West, especially Britain and France; and there has hitherto been very little work in this vein on Central and Eastern Europe, and next to nothing on Yugoslavia itself, especially in English.² Publications are now starting to appear on (for example) Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bulgaria, and the Baltic States; but there is nothing to compare with the present work in coverage and scope within a single country.³ Moreover, in thematic terms, there is a growing body of writing on the history of the role of the state in organizing and endowing “social tourism” facilities under authoritarian regimes of various political colorings, from the Third Reich and Fascist Italy to the much more complicated case of Peronist Argentina.⁴ This provides an important comparative context for the present book. The historical roles of tourism as a perceived route to economic development, a provider of “hard” currency to improve the balance of payments, and an agent of international diplomacy are also being explored with increasing assiduity in the context of (for example) France, Spain, Tunisia, Mexico, and Puerto Rico, and in the particularly interesting case (for present purposes) of Cuba, a socialist society apparently in transition, which (in strange

¹ Cross (1993).

² There is some historical content in Allcock (1991).

³ Gorsuch and Koenker (2006); Gorsuch, (2003); Kostianen (2003); Williams and Balacz (2000); Ghodsee (2005); Steward (2000); Worthington (2003). For colleagues with the relevant linguistic competences, the book by Gaj (2001) will be of interest, and there will be other publications on aspects of tourism history in the languages of individual countries.

⁴ Baranowski (2004); Semmens (2005); Balducci and Bica (2007); Orioli (2008); Pastoriza (2003).

correspondence with Franco's Spain) both needs the tourist dollar and finds it difficult to manage the tensions that are generated by the economic and cultural impact of international tourism.⁵ It would be very interesting to locate the Yugoslav experience more precisely on this spectrum, and comparisons with Cuba might be particularly revealing. But this is to move on to a focus on international "mass tourism" (an over-generalized category that cries out for deconstruction)⁶ that is peripheral to (though certainly not absent from) the concerns of this book. Its central virtue (among many) is the new perspectives it brings to the history of domestic tourism, a theme which has so far been explored mainly in the very different settings of Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Argentina, and Australia, and (as noted above) in the special cases of authoritarian regimes in Germany and Italy between the wars.⁷ In Yugoslavia's case the definition of "domestic tourism" has itself changed over time, though not during the period covered by this book: before the creation of "Yugoslavia," visitors from Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria itself to (for example) the Austrian section of the Adriatic coast were domestic tourists within the Austro-Hungarian empire, while by the end of the twentieth century what had been regarded as domestic tourism within Yugoslavia now crossed international boundaries, where it still existed at all.

Yugoslavia (and its antecedents in the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires) appeared relatively late on the European scene as a destination for tourists or a generator of internal tourism activity.⁸ There are a few allusions in the present book to tourism before the Second World War, especially the legacy of elite tourism on the "Dalmatian Riviera," but they are scattered and tantalizing, and it is clear that this is a field ripe for development. As the British, along with the Germans and (on the Adriatic) the Austrians, Czechs, and Hungarians, were so prominent in extending and consolidating the frontiers of tourism from the eighteenth century onwards, and especially in the

⁵ Endy (2004); Pack (2006); Hazbun (2008, Chapters 1–2); Berger (2006); Wynn (2007); Merrill (2001); Schwartz (1997).

⁶ Wright (2002).

⁷ Walton (1983); Walton (2000); Barton (2005); Boyer (2005); Battilani (2001); Aron (1999); Shaffer (2002); Schluter (2008); White (2005).

⁸ Walton (2003).

“railway age,” some introductory commentary on British perceptions of Yugoslavia from a tourism history perspective may be thought appropriate, especially insofar as they may point towards potential avenues of further research.

British travelers in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century produced colorful descriptions of parts of the future Yugoslavia,⁹ but the first indications of an emergence of commercial tourism do not really surface until the 1890s, a decade after the first real stirrings of an elite tourist season and the provision of associated amenities became apparent at Opatija/Abbazia. One of the services the present book performs, incidentally, is to cast into sharp relief the poverty of some existing material on the history of Yugoslav tourism, as evidenced by a recent book chapter on the “Opatija Riviera,” which, for the socialist period, focuses solely on a Western European sun and sea “mass tourism” model, takes no account whatever of domestic tourism between 1945 and 1990, makes no mention of “social tourism” of any kind, and represents the whole period as characterized solely by “unplanned activities.”¹⁰ In Bradshaw’s guide to “bathing places and climatic health resorts” for 1893, which lists several hundred spa, sea-bathing, and other health resorts across the whole of Europe (including Russia, Turkey, Sweden, and Norway, and what seems like every tiny spa resort in remotest rural Spain), the only readily recognizable location in those provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that were to form the future Yugoslavia was indeed Abbazia. This was described as a “winter station,” “new and rising,” with a Grand Hotel and resident doctors, but “statistics are still wanting.” The only other identifiable tourist location was Krapina-Toplitz (Krapinske toplice), also in Croatia, which had an “excellent establishment” and accommodation for the treatment of “nervous affections” and skin problems.¹¹ Spa resorts were the most important tourist locations across most of Europe, and their near absence from the future Yugoslavia in this international source is arresting. The long list of watering-places and climatic stations in the Austro-Hungarian Empire was completely dominated by Austria, Hungary, and the future Czechoslovakia. This was such a well-informed

⁹ Allcock and Young (1991); Steward (2005).

¹⁰ Corak (2006, esp. pp. 278–80).

¹¹ Bradshaw (1893, pp. 1, 175).

and far-reaching publication that we must take the absence of references as absence of activity beyond the local and regional level, thereby confirming the lateness of Yugoslavia's entry on to the already well-populated stage of European tourism at the end of the century.

By the early twentieth century, as Karin Taylor's chapter on Biograd indicates, tourism was developing steadily along the Dalmatian Coast. This would not be apparent from a perusal of D.E. Lorenz's handbook for "the Mediterranean traveler," published in 1905: it deals extensively with Spain, North Africa, Malta, Greece, and Turkey, but ignores Dalmatia, and the future Yugoslavia, completely.¹² But *The Queen* book of travel, an elite publication aimed at wealthy Britons, provided a paragraph on this coastline in its 1907 edition, proposing Raguza (Dubrovnik) as the best base for "a lengthened stay," and recommending three hotels there. It also offered half a page on Abbazia, which was "both a winter resort, and a summer sea-bathing station; to English people it is best known as the former." It was "a fashionable resort, with prices according." Krapina-Toplitz reappeared, with an encomium for, "Model management with wonderful cures as a result." But this was all, and the limited coverage is again revealing, missing as it does the exclusive archipelago resort at Brioni (Brijuni), which, like the other destinations, recruited almost all of its visitors from within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Even for the gossip columnist Charles Graves, who devoted his life to sampling elite tourist environments from his base in London, Brioni was, even at the end of the 1920s, "too far away" for him to visit.¹³

Brioni/Brijuni was at that time in Italy, and came within Yugoslavia's expanded borders after the Second World War, when Tito chose it for his official summer residence. Between the wars, however, British awareness of what was now Yugoslavia as a tourist destination developed, slowly but surely. However, Donald Innes' *Balkan Saga*, published in 1937, can stand as representative of an enduring *genre* of "Balkan" travel books whose dominant emphasis is on quaintness, "otherness," bad roads, dubious sanitary arrangements, bandits, strange customs, unpalatable food, unpredictable encounters, and embarrassing friendliness. The Yugoslav section of the journey falls squarely

¹² Lorenz (1905).

¹³ Hornsby (1907, pp. 281–2, 286); Graves (1930, pp. 20–2).

into this orientalist idiom, despite time spent in Dubrovnik and nearby coastal resorts, and visits to lakes and waterfalls that were already being celebrated in travel guides.¹⁴ Fuller, but almost always incidental, illustrations of tourism development, including the effects of the pleasure steamer service that ran along the Adriatic coast from Dalmatia to Montenegro, might be found in two other sorts of publication: the discursive account of travels in Yugoslavia by a foreigner who takes delight in his “man of the world” mastery of history, languages, customs, mountain roads, and rural bus routes, and who provides evidence *en passant* of the development of hotels, beaches, and the basic infrastructure of rural tourism, including guide-books;¹⁵ and the basic kind of descriptive country gazetteer or handbook, taking the reader through the country, theme by theme, province by province, sight by sight. Muriel Currey’s contribution to the *genre* tells us, among other things, that “[r]oughly one hundred new hotels have been built in Yugoslavia during the past five years, and over one hundred and fifty have been modernised to meet the requirements of the ever-growing numbers of visitors from abroad.” She draws attention to the cheapness of goods and services, and recommends fishing, shooting, canoeing and winter sports, which “have made great strides in the last few years.” She also recommends Yugoslavia as “particularly rich in spas,” with their “public gardens, open-air swimming-pools and tennis-courts,” a startling development in the light of their external invisibility forty years earlier, and a possible prompt for a research project; and she provides what seems to be an exhaustive list of “traditional festivals,” suggesting that the British deployed the anthropological gaze as assiduously in Yugoslavia as elsewhere.¹⁶

Meanwhile, Aldor’s substantial and discursive guide to European destinations in 1938 gave Yugoslavia quite extensive coverage. It was introduced by a full-page advertisement for Putnik, the official tourist office which had branches in London as well as Paris, Berlin, Prague, and Vienna, and it opened with an appeal to the careful middle-class tourist:

¹⁴ Weir (1937, Chapters 4–5).

¹⁵ Edwards (1939).

¹⁶ Currey (1939, pp. 5–18).

If your wife suggests for your next holiday something romantic, thrilling, different, and you wish to satisfy her without going to undue expense; if, in other words, you belong to that vast mass of middle-class people who are in need of a real change but must watch the cost, then you cannot do better than come to Jugoslavia.

Cheapness was followed by contrast, difference, beauty, and history in the list of selling points, with fishing, hunting, and “picturesque costumes and interesting customs” not far behind. Hotels were good, clean, and comfortable, and the cuisine “gorgeous.” Dalmatia, in particular, had an abundance of first-class hotels and pensions. Aldor’s author, A. Vidakovic, painted an enticing picture of a well-developed tourist culture.¹⁷

But this was not exactly “mass tourism,” unless defined, as above, as the “mass” of the comfortable but careful middle classes, and Yugoslavia’s status as niche market for particularly adventurous members of the British upper and middle classes is reinforced by the limited number of pre-Second World War guide-books that found their way into the British Library catalogue. It is confirmed by an examination of the substantial European holiday catalogues of two of the most important British travel agencies, Cook and the Polytechnic Touring Association, as issued in 1939. The Cook publication has 416 pages, of which three are dedicated to Yugoslavia, with a strong focus on Zagreb, the Dalmatian Coast (which “might have been planned for the holiday maker”), and Bled. This is more or less on a par with other destinations in East and South-East Europe. The Polytechnic, meanwhile, simply did not offer a Yugoslav holiday. The British would always be a small minority in this part of the world, of course; but in the inter-war years they were a very important component of the European tourist market, and the low profile of Yugoslavia here gives pause for thought.¹⁸

Immediately after the war, restrictions on the export of currency made it difficult for the British middle classes to resume European tourism, especially over long distances, and the rise of the package tour, at first to more accessible destinations than Yugoslavia, was partly a response to limited access to disposable holiday cash. The new regime

¹⁷ Fodor (1938, pp. 1293–338).

¹⁸ Cook (1939, pp. 331–3); Polytechnic Touring Association (1939).

in Yugoslavia was also an unknown quantity. Helen Fisher, who contributed the relevant section to Fodor's *Woman's Guide to Europe* in 1953, began her brief entry with a daunting set of caveats, perhaps especially for Britons who had only recently escaped their own austerity regime:

Don't come to Yugoslavia looking for a luxurious vacation with faultless service, super-comfort with no hint of dirt or disorder, an aristocratic society leading a life of pleasant idleness, chic clothes, shops bulging with merchandise, or a scintillating night life. If you expect 24-hour hot water in every hotel, stay away [...] Anyone with a germ phobia would be happier elsewhere, too [...] The country [...] is conducting a fascinating political and social experiment.

There was next to no night life, and nothing to buy except "peasant" crafts, but the steamers had returned to the Dalmatian Coast, and the best hotels were reserved for foreigners. This external view sits interestingly alongside the comments on the post-war years that appear in subsequent chapters.¹⁹ Two years later Anthony Rhodes, focusing on the Dalmatian Coast, reminded his readers that,

[i]n short, Yugoslavia is a new as well as a socialist state, and the visitor should not go to the Dalmatian Riviera expecting the amenities of the French one. If the insolent advertisements of western civilisation are absent, so are many of the goods connected with them [...] A group of Anglo-Saxon dress-designers and interior decorators I met, held up their hands in horror when I said how I liked Dalmatia. They spoke in the harshest terms of the entire coast. The Dry Martinis were neither dry nor martini; the Ritz-Carlton was neither the Ritz nor the Carlton; the waiters were dirty and ugly...

Among the faded splendors of Opatija's grand hotels the visitor might "note with approval or disapproval according to his political convictions, that among his fellow-guests, eating voraciously and energetically at adjacent tables in these palatial halls, are Croatian peasants and artisans on 'workers' holidays'," alongside "middle-aged, middle-class, middle-Europeans" with Baedekers and hard currency.²⁰ Here

¹⁹ Fisher (1953).

²⁰ Rhodes (1955, pp. 12, 38).

were some of the contradictions of post-war Yugoslav tourism, domestic and international, encapsulated.

A great deal more could be done in this vein, especially as the changes that this book analyses took hold. Lovett F. Edwards, introducing a new edition of his post-war introduction to the country in 1967, emphasized improvements in living standards and the spread of modern buildings, and urged his readers not to wallow in nostalgia nor to mourn the loss of the “picturesque” unduly. He also pointed to careful restoration work on historic buildings, including religious ones (though not, it seems, the church in Tito’s birthplace village of Kumrovec, despite the development of a Skansen-style open-air museum in the village). Edwards was clear that, “[o]n the whole, the changes have been for the better. Certainly multi-storey hotels do not improve the Dalmatian landscape, but they do make it possible for the average person to enjoy it [...] Yugoslavia is a country pulling itself up by its own bootstraps, and it is making a very good job of it.”²¹

Comments such as these engage with important parts of this book. Edwards took pride in his deep knowledge of pre-war Yugoslavia, and was, as is apparent, well-disposed towards the post-war socialist state. He went to Kumrovec with a veteran of the wartime partisans, and was full of praise for what had been done there, and for Tito.²² His coverage, like that of other British commentators, is inevitably partial in both senses of the word, and he has nothing to tell us about weekend retreats or holiday cottages, or cross-border shopping, or the fun that could be had in the Youth Labor Brigades, while the Sarajevo Winter Olympics was far in the future. William Sansom, whose sympathetic account of Montenegro in 1968 alerts the reader to the restoration of the old fishing village of Sveti Stefan as “one of the most interesting tourist developments in Europe,” did encounter a Youth Labor Brigade taking a break from road-building in the mountains, and was very taken with the “fifty youth of mixed sexes dressed in khaki scoutish clothes, with *autoput* written on their shirtbacks and carrying a red banner. Full of life and black with the sun, they were students who voluntarily put

²¹ Edwards (1967, pp. ix–x).

²² Edwards (1967, pp. 185–6).

in a few weeks' manual work on the new motor highways..."²³ The outsider's view (and it would be interesting to encounter the German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Italian viewpoint) adds additional perspective to the picture, but it cannot substitute for the kind of sustained, empathetic, informed, culturally attuned, evidence-based historical practice that has gone into the making of the book that follows. In many ways this book should represent a model of good practice for future collections in similar vein.

²³ Sansom (1968, pp. 101, 107).

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Tourism and the Making of Socialist Yugoslavia

An Introduction

Karin Taylor
Hannes Grandits

The song *More, More* (“The sea, the sea”)¹ by Croatian rock musician Darko Rundek evokes the longings of a family preparing for their sea-side summer holiday. Each year they draw up a list of things to take with them weeks before setting off for the Adriatic:

And don’t forget:
Charcoal, the barbecue, three deckchairs,
The sun umbrella, flippers, goggles,
Sunglasses, playing cards,
Tennis shoes, the thermos flask,
Tarzan and Karl May² [books], the swimming ring,
Badminton rackets, flip-flops, a ball,
Ham, bacon, the camera,
And the big container full of wine.³

Unfortunately, they fail to fit everything into the tiny car that became an icon of holidaymaking in Yugoslavia in the 1960s:

¹ On the album *Apokalipso*, Jabukaton edition, 1996.

² Karl May was the author of numerous adventure stories based on travels to exotic lands. These extremely popular German-language books were translated into Croatian in the 1960s.

³ Our translation.

I ne zaboravi:
drveni ugljen, roštilj, tri ligeštula
suncobran, peraje, maske,
naočale za sunce, karte,
tenisice, termosicu, Tarzana, Karl Maya, šlauf,
badmington, japanke, loptu,
šunku, špeka, fotoaparat
i veliki kanister s vinom.

But in the end all kinds of things are missing,
Because our *Fićo* is too small.

The song ironically savors the Yugoslav “good life” between leisure fantasies, a vital consumer culture, and prosaic everyday constraints. Enticingly, the sea beckons the tourist masses with the promise of summer pleasures. The trip to the old holiday paradise (the song was recorded in 1996) evinces a sphere of life that the majority of people living in Yugoslavia began to participate in and relate to during the heyday of the socialist era in the 1960s and 1970s. The annual summer holiday—*godišnji odmor*—became a social practice closely linked to the commanded transformation of a largely peasant country into an industrialized state after World War Two. Seen in contemporary terms, the items listed enthusiastically for the holidays differ little from those that families in Western Europe might have taken with them. Although British holidaymakers would perhaps have substituted wine with beer and Italian tourists preferred other adventure novels, the song’s lyrics suggest that the basic ideas of what constitutes a conventional family holiday at the seaside in the latter half of the twentieth century were essentially alike. As scholars of tourism since Dean MacCannell have argued, tourism is a form of modern leisure associated with consumption, modes of economy, social transformation and cultural identity: “tourism is the cutting edge of the worldwide expansion of modernity.”⁴ Rundek’s song has a bitter twist at precisely this point. In addition to the fact that childhood is irretrievable, the “modern” country remembered here with irony and poignancy, i.e., socialist Yugoslavia, fell violently apart in the early 1990s.

As a result, most of the recent work on Yugoslavia—either in the realm of history or anthropology—has concentrated on investigating the sources of conflict and uncovering cultural fault lines and social discontent. The work of historians has focused on political struggles in socialism and the constructions and realities of ethnic strife. In the Yugoslav successor states, the dominant political histories of the late 1990s and at the turn of the twenty-first century have tended to bolster national territorial and cultural claims, while historians based outside these countries dissected various nationalisms. In contrast, this volume

⁴ MacCannell (1999 [1976], p. 184).

shifts the perspective from divisive and exclusive political histories to the exploration of social and economic conditions, practices and identities in a sphere of life that was common to most citizens of Yugoslavia once socialism had been consolidated and living standards rose: the holiday.

Tourism and the Promotion of State Policies

Up until the establishment of the socialist state, recreational travel in Yugoslavia had been the prerogative of a small urban upper and middle class of educated professionals and trades people. Collective holiday trips organized after 1945 for workers and peasants represented an unfamiliar and sometimes even unwelcome experience to people unused to travel and relaxation away from home. Yet, similar to the rest of Europe, they rapidly assumed the right to annual holidays as part of a modern way of life.

In their volume on tourism in twentieth-century Eastern Europe, Anne Gorsuch and Diane Koenker point out that in both capitalist and socialist political configurations “tourism was too important to leave to the private sector alone.”⁵ And indeed, behind Rundek’s holiday trip lay a political program—recreation for the masses, as the lyrics indicate further on⁶—and the expectations it awoke. When Yugoslavia was recreated as a socialist state in 1945, the new leadership defined holidays with pay and recreation for workers as crucial elements of the new state’s social project. Kick-start industrialization was to be accompanied by the assumed complement to industrial labor: relaxation and regeneration during leisure time and on holidays. But the emergence of leisure practices under the auspices of the state needed direction. Yugoslav communist thinking on the benefits of tourism and recreation reflected Soviet ideas on the purposeful use of tourism and leisure “to enhance intellectual and physical capital” with a collective goal: inte-

⁵ Gorsuch and Koenker (2006, p. 3). See here in particular also the chapter on the Yugoslav experience of Bracewell (2006, pp. 248–65).

⁶ Tu sije sunce milionima koji rade
Pa su došli da im valovi speru znoj.
(Here the sun shines for the working millions,
Who have come for the waves to wash away their sweat.)

gration into the body of the nation and the state.⁷ However, linking recreation to purpose was not a specifically socialist idea but was rooted in the development of industrial capitalism and the emergence of production and administration technologies that forged the general concept of modernity.⁸ By the 1930s, both Soviet and US policies were promoting the benefits of tourism and holidays for the health and hygiene of the workers and, ultimately, the productivity of the labor force.⁹ Fascist regimes also promoted leisure and recreational travel to stimulate production. The Nazi “Strength Through Joy” organization (*Kraft durch Freude, KdF*) designed holidays for industrious workers to compensate for wage freezes and longer working hours.¹⁰ However, *KdF* holidays had a malign component: selection for the holiday bonus divided “true” Germans from Jews, thereby reinforcing the racial community.

Exploring the use of tourism and leisure in promoting state policies and blunting opposition in authoritarian states in the twentieth century has been at the center of recent important historical studies on tourism. The latter clearly contest longstanding assessments of the study of tourism as trivial or frivolous. As argued by historians Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, tourism is not only a formidable economic force but has also been operated by various types of governments as an instrument at the juncture between ideology, consumption, social harmony, and national coherence.¹¹ Similarly, MacCannell argued that “tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition, a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs.”¹²

Democratic governments, too, framed the emergence of holiday practices, especially the development of mass tourism. Campaigns to popularize travel, incentives to “see the country,” and perhaps most importantly, the introduction of paid holidays as a citizenship right formed the basis of tourism as a leisure activity accessible to the population at

⁷ Gorsuch and Koenker (2006, pp. 3, 10).

⁸ Cross (1993); Rojek (1995); Koshar (2002).

⁹ Baranowski and Furlough (2001, p. 16).

¹⁰ Baranowski (2004).

¹¹ Baranowski and Furlough (2001, p. 16). See also: Furlough (2001, pp. 121–9); Koshar (1998, pp. 323–40; 2000).

¹² MacCannell (1992, p. 1).

large. In the interwar era, such measures were accompanied by debates on the extent to which holidays should be organized or left up to the individual. In Britain, for example, commercial interests tipped the scales in favor of the holidaymaker as consumer, while the Left in France threw its weight behind boosting the subsidized holiday.¹³ In sum, holidays and tourism have been key factors in diverse political and economic lobbies and amount to more than the pursuit of pleasant leisure experiences. In ideological terms, they can be seen as elements in the narrative and “fiction” of the modern state, with considerable symbolic and persuasive power to work both inwards on its citizens and outwards on foreign visitors.¹⁴

In the Yugoslavia of 1949, the advertising slogan “Come and See the Truth” beckoned foreign tourists to the new socialist country following the leadership break with the Soviet Union. One year after Tito’s rift with Stalin, Yugoslavia still had a predominantly agricultural population, while the few industrial centers had suffered severe damage in World War Two. Building socialism meant the rapid urbanization of society along with industrial expansion and modernization, and Yugoslavia had now made a bid to go it alone—assisted by massive grants and loans from the West. According to John Allcock, “these developments were not confined to ‘industrialization’ in its narrower sense, but were extended to include such developments as the creation of the tourism industry.”¹⁵

As a field of political mobilization and economic redesign, tourism mirrored recent political and ideological change. In the making of socialist society, it also represented a site of cultural construction. The creation of the “tourist” existed even before tourism was defined as a sector worthy of investment at the onset of the 1950s. The government introduced a social tourism program designed to “turn workers into tourists” with state-sponsored excursions and the establishment of subsidized holiday centers. The communist endeavor to create a “new socialist man” who would embody and display a modern *habitus* was also extended to tourism, not least because of its symbolic value and

¹³ Furlough (1998, pp. 247–86); Cross (1989a; 1989b, pp. 599–621).

¹⁴ For a discussion on the fictions of “modernization” and the modern state, see Brandtstädter (2007, pp. 131–45).

¹⁵ Allcock (2000, p. 164).

ability to facilitate legitimacy by providing pleasure. Moreover, the leaders recognized that the principle of “Brotherhood and Unity”—the central slogan devised to mould the peoples of Yugoslavia into one socialist nation—could be enacted through the peaceful coexistence of contented workers relaxing at the beach. Holidays and tourism could be utilized to create a new Yugoslav awareness among the population and thus transcend the national, political, and religious enmities so viciously played out during the Second World War.

The Active Tourist

Tourism scholars have made ingenious efforts to distinguish between travel, tourism, and holidaymaking, as well as to divide “passive” from “active” tourism, “authentic” from “inauthentic” experience, and work from leisure. Newer work, however, has dispensed with many of the dichotomies that have dominated studies of tourism and leisure. Rudy Koshar, for example, argued that “labour and leisure are entwined.”¹⁶ This view emphasizes the mutually constructive relationships between work and leisure conditioned by social and cultural self-perceptions. It draws on important conceptual shifts in the history of consumption, which link the evolution of tourism with the emergence of modern consumer practices.¹⁷ Moreover, since the work of sociologist Jean-Didier Urbain and historians James Walvin and John Walton, the holiday has both joined and broadened the concept of tourism.¹⁸ The holiday encompasses the activity of tourism but stakes out a wider frame. Hence, while holidaymakers may be tourists and participate in sight-seeing excursions at their holiday destination, tourism is not an indispensable component of a holiday, which may mean relaxing in one place. Tourism and holidays are clearly not synonymous. But this conceptual rethinking, which has gained currency from the methods of

¹⁶ Koshar (2002, p. 15).

¹⁷ Trentmann (2004, pp. 373–401). On the development of modern tourism and the commodification of tourism in France and Britain, see Furlough (1993, pp. 65–81); Berghoff et al. (2002).

¹⁸ Urbain (2003 [1994]); Walvin (1978); Walton (2000). See also Löfgren (1999).

anthropologists and ethnographers, forms the basis for newer explorations of the history of tourism and holidaymaking.¹⁹

Whether leisure travel, tourism, or vacation, the holiday is a site of political intervention as well as of agency by tourists and holidaymakers, and tourism workers employed backstage. Even an organized holiday trip can generate unintended effects as individuals claim the “tourist gaze” or experience leisure on their own terms.²⁰ In socialist Yugoslavia, organized excursions took schoolchildren to partisan monuments and bused workers to the Second World War battlefields to encounter their political heritage. Yet by the 1970s, young people in particular had begun to see these political tourism trips as an opportunity to have fun and enjoy their own company away from home.

The recent stress on agency in tourism history underlines that as an element of state policy with an impact on everyday life the holiday is a site where social relations are continuously reformulated. And since social relations frequently become formalized, the study of the evolution of tourism and holidays can track political, social, and cultural change. Ellen Furlough’s research on the development of domestic mass tourism in France has brought issues to the fore that are highly relevant for the study of tourism in socialist Yugoslavia: changing labor policies, labor organization demands, social stratification, growing consumerism, and the commercialization of the holiday versus social entitlement,²¹ all of which are entwined with processes of national, social, and economic redefinition. Through the lens of tourism it is possible to elucidate larger processes and, in the case of Yugoslavia, to trace the shift from an orthodox Marxist position to one of consumerism and westernization, as well as the growing irrelevance of socialist ideology in the lives of ordinary people. With its economic impact and marketing power, tourism played a significant role in social transfor-

¹⁹ There is a growing body of literature on tourism anthropology. Many studies refer to the seminal work by Smith and Brent (2001).

²⁰ The “tourist gaze” refers to constructed tourism experiences, which are consumed through sightseeing. See Urry (1990). Since the introduction of the concept, various scholars have worked on its reformulation, emphasizing that tourists are not merely passive consumers of selected sights and destinations but themselves actively produce meanings.

²¹ See Furlough (2004, pp. 391–404).

mation. Some aspects of this transformation touched on in recent works by scholars in the post-Yugoslav states deal with socialism as a phase in the national histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In his book *A History of Croatian Tourism* (2005), for example, Boris Vukonić outlines the structural changes in tourism and economic policy during socialism but avoids a discussion of Croatia's tourism sector as an integral part of Yugoslav federal policy and social life.²² The Yugoslav context was last covered as a whole in various publications of the late 1980s, compiled by leading tourism experts, geographers, and sociologists affiliated to research institutes in Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb. These studies demonstrate that since the business of tourism was of far greater importance to the "tourism republics" of Croatia, Slovenia, and Montenegro than to inland Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Macedonia, goods, tourists, and tourism workers routinely crossed republican borders. Consequently, it seems imperative for the historical study of tourism in Yugoslavia to consider transnational and cross-border commonalities, and economic and social interaction.

Trends in Tourism Development in Socialist Yugoslavia

Immediately after the Second World War, Yugoslav communists gave little thought to the reconstruction of the tourism sector. Although the short-lived Kingdom of Yugoslavia had seen significant tourism growth in the 1930s,²³ tourism was not a priority in the early years of socialist consolidation. After all, its status in the socialist concept of how the economy should be run was ambiguous: its "unproductive" nature disqualified it as an industry. In socialist Czechoslovakia, for example, tourism remained a lesser concern in national development strategies of the 1950s and 1960s, since it was considered a predominantly social activity.²⁴ However, the Yugoslav government changed its stance around 1950 when the country sought to re-establish links with foreign travel agencies. Although economic policy favored the development of heavy industry—mainly shipbuilding, petrochemicals, and manufacturing—along the Adriatic coast, tourism enterprises also

²² Vukonić (2005, pp. 131–77).

²³ Blažević (1989); Vukonić (2005, pp. 103–26).

²⁴ Williams and Balacz (2000, p. 20).

vied for funding in what was the country's prime tourism region. In addition, general measures to urbanize and improve the infrastructure of underdeveloped areas of the country benefited the budding tourism resorts. Up until 1945, the Adriatic littoral—especially Dalmatia and Montenegro—was primarily populated by small fishing communities, and economic hardship forced an exodus of labor migrants to the industrial centers of Europe and overseas. While labor migration continued under socialism, this time gravitating towards Yugoslavia's new industrial plants and cities, and later to the factories of Central and Northern Europe, tourism increasingly provided employment in hotel construction and traffic infrastructure, as well as seasonal service jobs. Writing on regional tourism development in 1980, tourism expert Neda Andrić noted that the previously impoverished Adriatic communities were now showing favorable prospects for development.²⁵

As a Mediterranean holiday destination catering to low-income tourists, Yugoslavia benefited from the European boom in mass tourism in the 1950s and 1960s. It can be said that tourism put Yugoslavia on the map for other Europeans. The knowledge that tourism brought crucial foreign revenue remained one of the key factors in Yugoslav tourism policy. However, as domestic tourists increasingly travelled the country under their own steam, by bus, by motorcycle, and from the 1960s frequently in their own cars, the government acknowledged their role in developing the tourism industry outside the social tourism program. Although the aim of social tourism was to provide cheap holidays for all—a goal that was partially achieved but constantly escaped the full grasp of planners—Yugoslav communists never restricted the travel of citizens to the country's tourism regions. An aggravation to the authorities, “wild tourism” was a popular phenomenon even in the communist bloc countries of Eastern Europe.²⁶ In Yugoslavia, casual domestic holidaymakers spent less money than foreigners but tended to visit the more underdeveloped regions. A report from 1963 noted that “domestic tourists, then, turn towards our smaller tourism resorts because they are cheaper. [...] But, domestic tourism likewise plays a pioneering role in developing tourism throughout the whole region, enabling first

²⁵ Andrić (1980, p. 51).

²⁶ Noack (2006, pp. 281–304); Bren (2002, pp. 123–40); Taylor (2006, pp. 108–13).

efforts to include individual settlements in tourism.”²⁷ In this way, domestic tourists assumed the function of “useful” consumers, giving consumerism a positive spin. In addition, the Yugoslav tourist as a serendipitous pioneer worked as a suitable metaphor for socialist progress.

By the early 1950s, it was evident that the social tourism program was languishing. Chronic lack of accommodation, weak capacity management, and poor service and supplies were just some of the symptoms. Numerous domestic tourists preferred private accommodation simply because it was readily available without advance booking or application for a social tourism rebate. As a result, the government introduced measures to modernize existing amenities and construct new social tourism facilities, on the one hand, and to make use of capacities offered by private households, on the other. Parallel to these developments, plans were made to increase and readjust hotel capacities towards more commercialized business. Interaction between the federal and regional administrations, economic and tourism experts, and the holidaymaking population was shaped by shifts in Party thinking—notably decentralization and the introduction of workers’ self-management in the early 1950s—and the need to accommodate market forces in a practical and advantageous manner.

The remolding of tourism from state-directed to semi-commercial was the result of an ongoing process of negotiation at all levels and was largely accomplished by the early 1960s. In this context, it is important to consider the influence of international economic relations on tourism development. Yugoslavia was not only a holiday destination for foreign tourists but also had close links with international tourism and development agencies. A paradigmatic example is the major UNDP tourism development plan for the Adriatic coast launched in collaboration with the Yugoslav government in 1967. The goal of the grand—and eventually unproductive—two-part scheme *Gornji Jadran* (Upper Adriatic) and *Južni Jadran* (Southern Adriatic) implemented between 1967 and 1972 was to draw up plans for large-scale tourism development. Of these blueprints, only one plan was

²⁷ Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore (ASCG), Arhiv Jugoslavije, fond 580, box 29, “Savezni komitet,” p. 9.

realized, mainly due to the huge size of the projected funds.²⁸ However, international attention to the Yugoslav Adriatic coast, now synonymous with Yugoslav tourism, as well as the growing number of visitors from Western and Eastern Europe triggered euphoric reactions in the country. By the 1970s, Yugoslav marketing experts were eagerly describing the southern Adriatic coast of Montenegro with its warm climate as the “Yugoslav Florida.” Statistics indicated formidable increases in overnight stays and revenue from both foreign and domestic tourists.²⁹ Foreign tourism surged to over 52 million overnight stays in 1988, while domestic overnights dropped from a peak 59.7 million in 1986 to 55 million in 1988 shortly before the country began to disintegrate.³⁰

The apparent success story of tourism in Yugoslavia neither witnessed an unwavering upward trajectory, nor was it left unscathed by the many shortcomings that afflicted the system of socialist self-management. However, the tourism sector proved more impervious to the weaknesses and deficits of the Yugoslav economy than other sectors as a result of almost unabated demand. By 1990, hard currency income from tourism reached just over 2.5 billion USD from around 100 million USD in the mid-1960s.³¹ In addition, tourism allowed for the deployment of selected commercial principles precisely because it did not fit easily into the socialist matrix of industry. At the local community level—either seaside or Alpine ski resorts—the growing and increasingly differentiated tourism sector reinforced pre-socialist ways of making a living and established new ones. Extra income from activities such as renting out accommodation, taking tourists on boat trips, or crafting souvenirs stimulated consumerism and fostered small-scale private business undertakings, which were conveniently albeit imperfectly integrated into the socialist economic scheme. Tourism seemed to enable and at the same time to be the suitable expression of a modest brand of consumer culture, one of the linchpins of Yugoslav social-

²⁸ On the problems of planning premised on infinite growth and disregard for the social needs of the local population, see Mattioni (2003, pp. 62–5).

²⁹ Kobašić (1987); Stanković (1990).

³⁰ Stanković (1990, p. 280).

³¹ Data released by the National Bank of Yugoslavia (1991, p. 65).

ism until the economic crisis in the late 1970s severely rocked its position. Although various concessions to consumer attitudes were made in other socialist countries, too, the more liberal type of consumerism that became widely accessible to ordinary citizens played a key role in shaping Yugoslav society and identity.³² As a result, Yugoslavia was famously regarded as a kind of hybrid of socialism and capitalism in both East and West. Within the country, however, this model frequently saw bursts of ardent criticism. The critique—mainly from theorists—largely targeted the form consumerism was taking, including a proclivity for Western-style consumer values and luxury in the sphere of holidaymaking and recreation. From an official point of view, tourism was a playground in which both the “good” and the “bad” aspects of contemporary consumer culture were being adopted. Moreover, while the business of tourism boosted living standards and spending power in the resort communities, it also reinforced the existing regional differences that marked Yugoslav society.

Revenues from tourism cut a line between the Adriatic coast and the inland republics but also between individual resort communities making direct earnings from tourism. Figures for tourism income on the Adriatic between 1961 and 1973 showed that the income of residents in the coastal municipalities was significantly higher than the Yugoslav average.³³ As sociologists remarked in the 1980s, this did not further social equality.³⁴ Furthermore, at the federal government level, tourism revenue and funding triggered discontent. Inter-republican tensions over infrastructure development were additionally fuelled by dissatisfaction with the federal redistribution of tourism revenue, tainting political relations in the federation.³⁵ The republics with higher tourism revenue expressed grievance at having part of “their” funds allocated to development projects in poorer regions of the country. Although the socialist government did not treat tourism as a key factor in the economy, the business of tourism touched multiple state nerve cells and individual livelihoods, while its dynamic nature gave rise to

³² Patterson (2001).

³³ Andrić (1980, p. 50).

³⁴ For example, Elaković (1989).

³⁵ Ramet (1992, pp. 161–74); Lampe (1996, pp. 300–1).

debate. As a result, official discourses on tourism reflected many of the crucial political conflicts and contesting forces that marked the Yugoslav version of socialism and federalism.

Transformation of the State and the National Question

At this point it makes sense to recall the general political transformation of the socialist Yugoslav state in the initial decades of its existence. Its political framework, which was closely linked to the all-important “national question” within Yugoslavia, strongly affected developments in the tourism economy, as well as the everyday conditions of holidaymaking.

As is well known, when the Communist Party seized power towards the end of World War Two and thereafter, it began to endow the six nationally defined republics that constituted the new Yugoslavia with the symbolic aspects of national communities. This was accomplished under the flag of a federatively organized Socialist People’s Republic and the mobilizing slogan of “Brotherhood and Unity.” In an attempt to create a new “national equilibrium” in the Yugoslav state, particularly in the three southern republics, the new leadership proceeded to systematically build up these republic nations. This is especially true for the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. In many respects, it also applied to Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The introduction of a federative structure and the establishment of several new “national” republics were to help ease the smoldering nationalistic antagonisms of the interwar period, which had so brutally escalated during the Second World War. To some degree, this solution was merely a pragmatic consequence of what the Communist Party referred to as the Yugoslav People’s Liberation War.³⁶

The “nationalization” of the six constituent republics under a federative roof and strong central control was promoted in the post-war decade. During the latter half of the 1950s, however, this began to change as Yugoslavia showed signs of having survived its break with Soviet policy. The economic embargo implemented by the Soviet Union and the Comecon states as a response to this conflict had brought the country to the verge of economic collapse in the late 1940s. In the

³⁶ Shoup (1968); Sundhaussen (1993).

course of the 1950s, the Yugoslav leadership managed to ease relations step by step. Moreover, the confrontation even generated a degree of solidarity between Yugoslav society and its communist leadership (although initially the regime had used extreme repression to outdo any real or alleged internal political opposition). Substantial economic aid from the USA allowed the Yugoslav communists to overcome the threat of “re-integration” under Soviet control and to gradually position the country between the blocs of the Cold War.

In the late 1950s, Yugoslavia joined the ranks of countries with the fastest economic growth in the world, and showed annual economic growth rates of between ten and fifteen percent.³⁷ As a result of this “successful” development, which was increasingly accompanied by optimism on the part of the majority of the population,³⁸ the communist leadership turned to new challenges in its political mission. It came up with the concept of “workers’ self-management,” a new means of realizing the socialist order.³⁹ The state, which had remained centristic despite its federative form and “Stalinist” in many respects, underwent pronounced liberalization. As a further stage of development, the Party leadership increased efforts to create a Yugoslav-wide “national feeling” in the form of “socialist Yugoslavism.”⁴⁰

This attempt to form a “Yugoslav nation” was not only an ideological project imposed from above. It also had the appearance of being a movement “from below.” In the late 1950s, several social groups had a favorable view of this development. These included partners in interethnic or so-called mixed marriages and their children—a substantial section of the urban population⁴¹—, many young people, and certain groups that did not easily fit into the existing national identity frameworks

³⁷ Singleton (1976, pp. 142–9).

³⁸ See, for example, Grandits (2000, pp. 145–55).

³⁹ Cf. for details Höpken (1984).

⁴⁰ The image of the country promoted internationally also assumed this character, as illustrated by the self-portrayal of Yugoslavia at the first world exhibition after World War Two (Brussels, 1958). Cf. in detail Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ)/56-Generalni komisarijat Jugoslovenske sekcije opšte međunarodne izložbe u Briselu 1954–1959. Fasc. 7, 21, 24.

⁴¹ By the end of the socialist era, the percentage of ethnically mixed marriages in larger towns had increased to almost forty percent in some cases. This was particularly true for provinces or republics with a strong mixed

(e.g., Bosnian Muslims). Among Party members, this “advanced development” in the national question also found wide approval.

It was in this atmosphere that the idea of socialist Yugoslavism became a political project. In the second half of the 1950s, the leadership instructed the Party to set to work on the institutional implementation of this integrative concept of nation, first and foremost in cultural life.⁴² The results seemed positive. The greatest success in the eyes of the Party was the agreement by leading linguists and literature experts from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Montenegro on a common Serbo-Croatian language. This official decision was taken in Novi Sad in 1954 and a common orthography of the Serbo-Croatian (or Croato-Serbian) language was subsequently published in 1960.⁴³ Despite irritating “interjections” from dissident artists and intellectuals, there seemed to be sufficient social support for the new program.

However, resistance to ongoing developments began to manifest itself within the Party, although it did not necessarily have a “national” base. On the one hand, the loosening of central control over the economy and increasing experimentation with the self-management system went against the grain of the opponents of liberalization. The latter began to group around the long-term Minister of the Interior and secret service chief, Alexander Ranković, at that time a potential successor to Tito. This group was increasingly worried about its future position in the Party and strove to hold on to federatively organized rule with strong centralist control. On the other hand, Party factions at the republican level voiced strong criticism of the management of the economy, triggered by the fact that despite huge industrial projects and a massive flow of resources to, for example, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia, the gap between the standards of living in the republics of the north and those of the south showed little sign of closing—on the contrary.⁴⁴ This imbalance ultimately influenced the direction of revenues gained from the economically vital tourism sector.

population, such as Vojvodina or Bosnia-Herzegovina. See Botev (2000, pp. 219–33); Donia and Fine (1997, pp. 186–7).

⁴² Shoup (1968, 193f).

⁴³ Okuka (1998, p. 78).

⁴⁴ Economically, Kosovo lagged far behind all other Yugoslav regions, even those in the south. Cf. figures provided by Singleton (1976, pp. 241–59).

The subsequent turnaround of the “Yugoslav nation” policy and the Party’s renunciation of the Yugoslavism project must be seen against the background of these diverging opinions on the “right direction” of socialist policy. The abandonment of Yugoslavism was to some degree accepted as “collateral damage” in the political power games that came to the fore in the course of the 1960s.⁴⁵ Tito obviously saw his dominant position within the Party threatened by Ranković and the adherents of anti-liberal policy. As a result, Tito decided to back the political course anticipated by his chief ideologist Edward Kardelj, who predicted far-reaching development of the workers’ self-management system on the premise of federal decentralization.⁴⁶ As a consequence of this decision, Ranković was openly accused of working towards the establishment of a centralist hegemony and “Greater Serbian” unitarianism. He was finally expelled from the Party. This internal Party conflict was accompanied by polemics that targeted any form of “exaggerated centralism,” also portrayed as the reason for economic difficulties. Yugoslavism as a national and “centralist” concept, hitherto systematically promoted by the Party, fell victim to this conflict and its accompanying anti-centralist rhetoric, although Tito in later years spoke again nostalgically of the formation of a Yugoslav nation.

The policy of decentralization was closely linked to the development of the leadership’s prestige project: workers’ self-management. This project was affirmed in the course of the 1960s as the key feature in realizing Yugoslav socialist society and was gradually implemented regardless of the consequences. In theory, the development of self-management was to proceed to a point where the working population would have the power and competence to conduct its affairs and the state could finally “wither away.”⁴⁷ Various reform plans and policies “for realizing a better socialist future” were evident in Party-controlled public discourse throughout much of the 1960s. The decision to adjust the state machinery towards decentralization, in particular, opened up a topic considered closed by the majority of Yugoslavs, including the Party elites, i.e., the inner-Yugoslav distribution of power. Again, this

⁴⁵ Grandits (2008, pp. 15–28).

⁴⁶ See here Jović (2003, pp. 131–54).

⁴⁷ On this in detail, see Jović (2003).

issue was closely bound up with the “national question.” The more the decision-making powers were delegated to the lower levels of self-management administration, the more the role of Party officials at local, regional, and republican levels was upgraded.

This was the situation when the global wave of 1968 anti-authoritarian protests against the “system” reached Yugoslavia. Here, they grew into movements against the existing order. The most prominent was the *MASPOK* (*masovni pokret*) movement in Croatia in the early 1970s. Antagonistic and heterogeneous, the opposition and its activists were confronted with a regime that was unwilling to make concessions of any kind to claimed “democratic” freedoms and was far from questioning the absolute power monopoly of the Party. However, the government began to compensate by promising and later granting increased “national freedoms.” Ultimately, the idea of socialist Yugoslavism was replaced by the concept of the unity of Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

The entire process of political change finally found its conclusion in the adoption of the constitution of 1974, which to a vast extent transferred decision-making powers from central Party institutions to the Party elites of the nationally defined constituent republics. From then on, Party officials at the republican level concentrated their activities more or less on “their republic” only. Consequently, they competed with growing intensity for the largest possible slice of the overall state budget. This logic soon led to rhetoric occupied with “national arguments” claiming “just” national symmetries and quotas, as reflected in the debates on tourism earnings and investment.

From the perspective of the population, two other policies rooted in political change had an immediate impact on daily life: the expansion of the state welfare system and (unvoiced) support of consumerism. Both embraced growing sections of the population in the 1960s and 1970s and met with approval. Despite the economic shortcomings and shortages that marked these decades, they undoubtedly represent the “golden years” of “Yugoslav” welfare and consumer culture.⁴⁸ There

⁴⁸ Patterson (2003, p. 5). See also in more detail Patterson (2001). For an overview on the expansion of the welfare system in socialist Yugoslavia taking the example of the Croatian republic, see Grandits (2009, pp. 249–81).

is considerable evidence for the argument that these developments helped to uphold “Yugoslavism” as a social identity—in complete contrast to the political course pursued by the Party at exactly the same time.

Social stratification

When the economy slumped at the end of the 1970s and the crisis made itself felt in the following decade, the downturn in living standards brought sharpened debates on social issues and an intensification of national political rhetoric. During this era, petrol was periodically rationed, inflation soared, and unemployment increased. Going on holiday, which had been a showcase achievement of the socialist “good life” for some three decades, could no longer be taken for granted. In addition, domestic tourists with their devalued dinar felt they were being treated as second-class patrons by hotels and in other tourism facilities that clearly favored foreigners. While many Yugoslavs chose cheaper holiday venues such as camping, gave up skiing or simply stayed closer to home, others ventured to destinations abroad or retreated to cozy holiday cottages. Reflecting these facts, official discourse that had earlier questioned market values now turned to highlight social stratification and inequality. The economic crunch revealed more starkly what was common knowledge, i.e., although a significant segment of the population could claim a satisfactory way of life, socialism had produced social strata with notable differences in income, education, occupation, and levels of social security and lifestyle.⁴⁹

Scholars of tourism have noted that since tourism has the capacity to shape and display individual taste and status, it also contributes to constituting social groups and constructing collective imaginings of what represents a desirable lifestyle.⁵⁰ Consequently, tourism was vital in forming both a sense of class and of citizenship in twentieth-century Europe. “Acting as a tourist is one of the defining characteristics of being modern,” according to John Urry.⁵¹ Urry further pointed out the importance of tourism in creating an independent middle class that con-

⁴⁹ Berković (1986).

⁵⁰ Baranowski and Furlough (2001, pp. 18–20).

⁵¹ Urry (1990, pp. 2–3).

fidently identified itself as cosmopolitan, i.e., that claimed the right to travel anywhere and gave travel the purpose of cultural education and refinement.⁵²

A middle class with shared consciousness, values, and aspirations emerged in Yugoslavia on the back of the economic boom of the 1960s.⁵³ New consumer self-assurance extended to travel and holidaymaking, famously noted in 1985 by historian Dušan Bilandžić, “Toward the end of the 1960s, the masses were caught up in a fever of consumption and money-making: in every part of the country, peasants and workers were building houses and buying durable consumer goods, while the richer people were getting vacation houses, ever more expensive cars, and so forth.”⁵⁴

Prosperous Yugoslavs evoked the Yugoslav dream of unpretentious prosperity for all, transforming it into material reality: small holiday cottages in the country, cars and trips abroad. The choice of cottage or tourism destination reflected the efforts of the middle class—largely professionals with higher education and specialized trades people—to separate their holiday experience from the masses and indulge their cultural capital. On the other hand, individually organized modes of weekend and holiday leisure also became accessible to lower-income groups, albeit on a more modest scale. Trips in the *Fićo* substituted flights, and cabins grew on the urban periphery in lieu of seaview bungalows. In the course of the 1980s, income earned by guestworkers abroad increasingly defied middle-class leisure conventions as it was channeled into flashier cars, elaborate second homes, and other conspicuous trappings of relative wealth.

Distinctive modes of leisure and holidaymaking revealed an uncomfortable social gap in the nominally egalitarian state and underlined the early abandonment of unitarist policies. But they also produced recognizable benefits. Tourists and residential holidaymakers were seen to contribute to regional development by spending in the poorer regions and introducing modern consumer goods and attitudes from

⁵² Urry (1995, p. 167).

⁵³ On the “Making of the Middle Class” in Yugoslavia, see Luthar (2006, pp. 229–59).

⁵⁴ Bilandžić (1985, p. 394). On discrepancies between proclaimed dogma and social practice, compare also Zukin (1975).

the urban centers, as well as from abroad. As agreed by most scholars of Yugoslavia, the ability to cross international borders on the strength of the famous visa-free Yugoslav passport was one of the few effective components of Yugoslav identity. Yugoslavs could travel independently and see the world for themselves, and—within certain limits—bring something back with them.

It would be wrong to assume that the development of tourism and holidaymaking into a consumer-driven culture was a foregone conclusion in Yugoslavia. On the contrary, it was an unpredictable process conditioned by political principles that allowed the tourism sector to adjust to market demands within limits, by attempts of the communist leadership to create loyal Yugoslav citizens and by social change that influenced consumer attitudes. As an economy, tourism remained directed to a significant extent and subsequently struggled with shortages and investment restraints. As a leisure practice, however, individual needs and choices dominated the holiday experience, or as Breda Luthar coined consumption, the “articulation of an imagined good life.”⁵⁵

Over the decades, tourism lost much of its initial utopian meaning for the socialist federal state. It nevertheless remained a tool of state legitimization and Yugoslav branding, even as republican interests advanced to the foreground. Although tourism diversified in the social tourism and commercial domains, it retained a basic ideological message: Yugoslavia was to be a holiday paradise for all. The country’s tourism managers ran a down-market version of Mediterranean and Alpine tourism, making tourism facilities widely accessible. Yugoslavia represented a Côte d’Azur for the low-income bracket, a hotel landscape without showy pools or private beaches and where guests dipped collectively in the sea.

Book Concept and Chapter Outlook

Given the significance of tourism as an economic motor, a heavily touted political icon, and a popular social practice, it is surprising that

⁵⁵ Luthar (2006, pp. 233–4) pointed out that “needs” are culturally constructed; “basic needs can therefore be defined not as those that sustain us as physical beings and satisfy our pre-existing biological needs, but as those needs that are necessary conditions for our cultural citizenship.”

studies of socialist Yugoslavia have so far given its role in Yugoslav society such scant attention. This volume leaves the linear path of chronicling the economic history of tourism in Yugoslavia in an effort to explore the role of tourism between ideology and practice, and secondly, to anchor historical writing on Yugoslav socialism in contemporary scholarly discourses and narratives on Europe in the twentieth century. However, this is not an easy undertaking. Historians working on Yugoslav socialism in today's successor states are confronted with a number of difficulties. Archives are in the process of being reordered but are still partially inaccessible, embargos exist on archival material in Croatia and Serbia, documents have been lost or destroyed, and former officials are reluctant to divulge information, to name but a few obstacles. On the other hand, the opening of tourism history to interdisciplinary approaches has broadened the scope for exploring lived experience through memory and illuminating the cultural and social meanings attached to objects, actions, and perceptions of need and desire. Hence this book includes work by anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians, using methods stemming from these fields. At the same time, political discourse and narratives are the focus of analysis in the following eleven chapters.

The chapters are organized into three thematic sections. In the first, "Holidays on Command," three essays reconstruct the evolution of tourism policy in the early phase of socialist consolidation and analyze its reformulation and transformation. In the initial chapter, Igor Duda gives a detailed historical analysis of the creation of Yugoslav social tourism through the introduction of entitlements and holiday subsidies. By moving beyond the legal and political framework to look at the architecture of workers' summer camps (*odmaralište*) and the social activities linked to them, he illustrates the Party's efforts to create a "need" for holidays and describes how peasants-turned-workers experienced their holiday stay. He goes on to discuss the contradictions in the organization of social tourism that led to quite diverse assessments of their usefulness and role in Yugoslav society.

In his contribution, Rory Yeomans confronts the role of socialist ideology in the organization of Yugoslav tourism after World War Two. He shows that tourism was initially understood by the Party as a crucial vehicle in the creation of the new socialist citizen. His focus on youth and children's summer camps demonstrates that tourism was also

intended to serve as a means of healing national and political divisions after the fratricidal conflicts of the 1940s, albeit with indeterminate results. Yeomans subsequently assesses official and public discourses linked to the issue of tourism, which questioned the growing consumerism in this field. At the same time, he shows that in the 1950s tourism was already being transformed into a means of bringing a taste of “the good life” to the ordinary citizen and that the apparent advantages of this ideological turn eventually outweighed Party endeavors to harness tourism for political mobilization.

Igor Tchoukarine explores in his chapter how the development of tourism in Yugoslavia was essentially influenced and shaped by the Party’s position towards foreign tourism, i.e., how the country—primarily the Adriatic coast—was promoted and made available as a tourist destination on the international market. Concentrating on the period following the split with the Soviet Union and Cominform and the subsequent opening to the West in the 1950s, Tchoukarine illustrates how tourism was used to project a variety of “positive” messages about Yugoslavia abroad. Despite the Cold War, Yugoslavia’s progress in the tourism sector helped to reinforce the country’s position on the international political stage. Moreover, the opening of Yugoslavia to Western tourism soon led to greater mobility for Yugoslav citizens themselves.

The second thematic section, “Tourism and the Yugoslav Dream,” discusses how the population related to the perceived rise in standards of living and the idea of Yugoslavia as a “third way.” Ethnologists Nevena Škrbić Alempijević and Petra Kelemen carry out a critical investigation of the construction of Yugoslavia’s top “ideological” tourist destination: Tito’s birthplace in the village of Kumrovec. Throughout most of the socialist period, some half a million people (in a country of slightly more than 20 million) travelled annually to Kumrovec, usually in their leisure time. This figure more than doubled after Tito’s death. The authors discuss the ongoing popularity and pull of this destination by evaluating visitors’ impressions noted in the Kumrovec Museum guest books.

In her chapter on the Yugoslav holiday cottage, Karin Taylor explores the development of the *vikendica* culture under socialism. She shows how the construction of holiday cottages in Yugoslavia was linked early on to social distinction but later adopted by large sections of the

population as a pleasurable, occasionally even profitable, leisure pursuit. The *vikendica* craze followed a general European trend associated with the rise in the standard of living and growing urbanization. However, Taylor also makes clear that private industriousness had political implications in a socialist state and reflected specific transformations in Yugoslavia's politics, economy, and social life.

Concentrating on the highly popular Yugoslav shopping trips abroad, Maja Mikula crosses the borders of the country to examine the rituals and meanings of consumption practices linked to travel from the 1960s to the 1980s. She argues that shoppers evoked and enacted, albeit ironically, the hegemonic narrative of Yugoslavia's "uniqueness" by translating it into the opportunity to purchase and enjoy consumer items unavailable in the countries of the Eastern Bloc proper. At the same time, however, the practice of touring to shop abroad gnawed at the edges of Yugoslavia's foundational narrative by channeling people's desires and notions of what constituted the "good life" towards Western-style consumerism.

The third thematic section of the book deals with "Tourism Economies in Transformation" and outlines how people experienced and adjusted to shifting economic regulations and conditions in the four-and-a-half decades of socialist rule. Taking the case study of a coastal community and its development, Karin Taylor illuminates how social tourism was from the beginning closely interlinked with the privately organized forms of tourism that grew to eclipse it in later decades. In doing so, she reconstructs the growth of the local tourism industry, contrasting and connecting political intervention and changing ways of life, as reflected in the memories of former hosts. The chapter gives illustrative insights into how locals adapted their homes to cope with the influx of domestic holidaymakers and the foreign tourists who swung down from the new Adriatic highway bringing coveted foreign currencies.

Igor Duda focuses on the weekend to examine the development of a leisure and travel culture connected to the regulation of working hours and the expectations of a modern lifestyle, and significantly affected by an increasingly popular and affordable mode of transport: the car. He shows how the weekend became established only after labor legislation had shortened the working week dramatically, making Saturdays free for everyone. Despite some early efforts to organize

collective weekend leisure, the population generally enjoyed a private weekend break, influenced by factors such as an urban or rural location, family habits, gender conventions, educational levels, and mobility.

In his chapter on Youth Labor Actions (*ORA*), Dragan Popović shifts the work-leisure relation to concentrate on leisure within the framework of organized youth camps. He indicates that while *ORA* initially represented hard physical labor on state construction projects, this began to change later on. By the 1980s, *ORA* had acquired the features of a youth travel culture in terms of how participants related to the camps. Popović argues that *ORA* activities can be understood as the specific practice of spending holidays that combined elements of shock-brigade ideology and the adventure of travel.

Finally, Kate Meehan Pedrotty gives insights into the planning, staging and aftermath of the 1984 Olympic Winter Games in Sarajevo—the greatest sport and tourist event undertaken in socialist Yugoslavia. While Yugoslavia used the Olympic Games to promote a unified and impartial image abroad, Meehan Pedrotty demonstrates how inter-republican debates on funding and implementation were racked with tension and accusations of unnecessary spending. The chapter makes clear that this event can be seen as a key moment in Yugoslav history, reflecting the complexities of both Yugoslavia's domestic situation and its geopolitical position in the final decade of the country's existence.

The chapters briefly outlined above conclude with an essay by Patrick H. Patterson. Patterson's synopsis frames what this book has identified as "Yugoslavia's Sunny Side," and discusses it within the broader context of recent conceptual and theoretical approaches to the topics of tourism and consumption history. He defines the particularities of the Yugoslav case and details its similarities with others, both enriching and revising prevailing approaches.

The essays in this collection offer a multifaceted view of the development, significance, and experience of tourism in socialist Yugoslavia. After considerable reflection, the authors agreed on the book title "Yugoslavia's Sunny Side." Many of the topics presented and discussed here deal with the bright side and widely perceived "good life" of Yugoslav citizens during socialism. Nevertheless, the authors are aware that the fading of a social utopia and escalation of national ten-

sions evident in these studies may seem strange bedfellows of the associative memories of sun, sea, and *čevapčići* that gave rise to the “Sunny Side” title.⁵⁶ But the understanding behind this book is that political doctrines, power relations and personal experience are interrelated and vital aspects of tourism, producing a vibrant weave of ideology and culture remembered in different ways.

⁵⁶ The editors later discovered that Slovenia used the slogan “The Sunny Side of the Alps” to promote tourism in the 1980s. Thanks go to Irena Weber for this detail.

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Part I

“Holidays on Command”

Workers into Tourists

Entitlements, Desires, and the Realities of Social Tourism under Yugoslav Socialism

Igor Duda

In 1984, the newspapers in Yugoslavia complained about the economic crisis and the decline in living standards, describing the tough life of the workers and their struggle to retain old entitlements and traditions, such as going on holidays. To support their understanding of current affairs, they quoted the constitution and several articles of law that guaranteed dignity and happiness, contrasting them with cartoons and jokes, and funny songs such as “Whoever has money bathes in the sea, and whoever doesn’t, bathes at home in a basin.”¹ During the Split music festival, a regular feature at the beginning of each summer that introduced new hits, another song was to catch the attention of the audience that year. Although it never reached the top of the charts, its humor and irony reflected a more serious background. With the aim of giving an amusing performance, the members of the *Prava kotka* band and their front man, Mucalo, appeared on stage in blue overalls and sang: “The working class is resting, the blue Adriatic is swelling.”² The lyrics ridiculed the typical summer holiday, i.e., crowded coaches, planes, and trains, overbooked accommodation, high prices, visits to relatives, ten days of nothing but sun-bathing, and finally the return to even greater victories at their workplace. Why were paid holidays such a burning issue in 1984, as indeed they were every summer in socialist Yugoslavia? When was state intervention in holiday policies constructed

¹ From the original “Tko ima para kupa se u moru, a tko nema kući u laboru,” in “Tko ima para ljetovat će na moru...,” *Radničke novine (RN)*, 9 April 1984.

² From the original “Radnička odmara se klasa, plavi se Jadran talasa,” *Prava kotka*, “K-15,” on the audio-cassette *Split 84. Festival zabavne glazbe*. Zagreb: Jugoton, 1984.

as a priority and what had gone wrong in the meantime to cause its deconstruction? Why was annual leave both an entitlement and the subject of irony? Why was the system of social tourism introduced and what was the significance of turning workers into tourists? What was it like to spend holidays in an Adriatic workers' holiday center?

Some of the answers to these questions were concealed in five principal sources that cover the entire socialist period and were used for this history of social tourism: first of all, the archival records of the Council of the Association of Trade Unions of Croatia (*Vijeće Saveza sindikata Hrvatske, VSSH*) dealing with tourism or those belonging to the Committee for Rest and Recreation (*Odbor za odmor i rekreaciju, OOR*) and similar bodies, available for the years 1947–1970; secondly, *Radničke novine* ("Workers' paper"), the VSSH weekly, which contains a vast number of articles on social tourism from 1973 to 1989; thirdly, *Turizam* ("Tourism"), the monthly journal of the Tourist Association of Croatia (*Turistički savez Hrvatske, TSH*) and Yugoslavia's leading tourist journal, with a large collection of articles on worker's holiday centers, 1953–1990; fourthly, legislation on holidays and tourism passed by Croatian and federal parliaments and published in the official gazettes *Narodne novine* and *Službeni list*; fifthly, statistics on tourism released in Croatian and Yugoslav statistical yearbooks (*Statistički godišnjak Hrvatske, SGH*; *Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije, SGJ*), and specialized editions of the Croatian Statistical Bureau (*Republički zavod za statistiku*) and the market research agency in Zagreb (*Zavod za istraživanje tržišta, ZIT/CEMA*). Most of the sources concern Croatia, but successfully represent the Yugoslav context in general.

Interference by the state, trade unions, and other social factors in holidays and social tourism was not a Yugoslav invention. Concern for the leisure of the working class were already abounded in the nineteenth century; although the welfare state in some parts of Europe began to intervene early in the twentieth century, new topics were not seriously tackled until the 1930s.³ By then the debate had focused on working hours and weekends, but shortly before the Second World War discussions on paid holidays took more prominence. In 1936, the International Labour Organization (ILO) passed the Holidays with Pay Con-

³ On shorter working hours, see, e.g., Cross (1988, 1989).

vention (Convention 52), which guaranteed at least six days annual paid leave. Several countries had introduced this innovation by the end of the decade. France, on the other hand, went a step further and in the same year entitled its labor force to two weeks annual holidays with pay.⁴ However, the real turning point occurred after the war, in the 1960s, when “paid vacations came to be understood as a right of citizenship bound up within a European standard of living, part of a new social contract” and “an exemplary consumer good and practice.”⁵ In 1970, the ILO Convention 132 recommended a three-week paid holiday at least, although by this time many countries had introduced a standard four-week annual holiday with pay. These changes became cornerstones of the post-war tourism industry, since “holidays for all” not only meant legal entitlement but the possibility of leaving home to travel. By supporting this policy, governments aimed at improving “social and national harmony.”⁶ Since not all citizens were able to afford commercial tourism and become tourists, the state, the trade unions, and other organizations supported in a variety of ways the system of social tourism, the key benefits of which were price reductions. However, it would be misleading to associate post-war Yugoslav social tourism with collective and directed organization only.⁷ A glance at the legislation, construction and promotion of social tourism, and actual holidaymaking reveals in practice a wide range of features from the persuasive power of politics to total summer idleness.

Legislation: Entitlements and Financial Incentives

The Yugoslav federal government introduced an annual two weeks of paid leave in July 1946.⁸ This period went beyond what the ILO had advised before the war, in the convention ratified by Yugoslavia as late

⁴ See Furlough (1998).

⁵ Furlough (1998, pp. 249, 286). See also Löfgren (2002); Inglis (2000).

⁶ See Baranowski and Furlough (2001, p. 16).

⁷ On directed and democratic leisure, see Cross (1989). Cf. also the collective and individual gaze in Urry (2002).

⁸ “Uredba o plaćenom godišnjem odmoru radnika, namještenika i službenika,” *Službeni list (SL)* 56 (1946).

as 1953.⁹ According to the federal Labor Act of 1958, the employed were entitled to 12–30 days of paid annual leave, the duration depending on age and years of service.¹⁰ In 1965, the minimum leave was extended to fourteen days.¹¹ A further extension to 18–30 days for regular employees followed in 1973.¹² In the same year Yugoslavia ratified the ILO Convention 132.¹³ Paid leave was a constitutional entitlement: employers had to accept it and employees could not reject it. Combined with the European twentieth-century idea that no one should spend their holidays at home and taking Yugoslav living standards and level of economic development into account, these two stipulations constituted the perfect setting for social tourism. The system had two main pillars: the first was financial privileges, such as price reductions and annual holiday allowances (*regres*); the second focused on special accommodation units, such as holiday centers for workers (*radničko odmaralište* or *dom odmora* in Croatian).¹⁴

In the first phase, which lasted up to the mid-1960s, trade unions were responsible for putting state ordinances on social tourism into practice. The various trade unions in different fields were united in a republican association (e.g., United Trade Unions of Croatia, later Council of the Association of Trade Unions of Croatia). These republican associations were in turn coordinated by the federal head office (Association of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia). The federal and republican head offices, as well as many of the local branches, had offices, boards, committees, or commissions for tourism, holidays, and recreation. Since virtually everybody was a member of a union, trade union activities in the direction of social tourism were familiar to millions of people. In 1947, the Office for Workers' Rest, subordinate to the head office of the United Trade Unions of Croatia, had the following tasks:

⁹ "Odluka o ratifikaciji Konvencije o plaćenom godišnjem odmoru," *SL* 2 (1953), Dodatak: Međunarodni ugovori i drugi sporazumi.

¹⁰ "Zakon o radnim odnosima," *SL* 53 (1957).

¹¹ "Osnovni zakon o radnim odnosima," *SL* 17 (1965).

¹² "Zakon o međusobnim odnosima radnika u udruženom radu," *SL* 22 (1973).

¹³ "Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije broj 132 Međunarodne organizacije rada o plaćenom godišnjem odmoru," *SL* 52 (1973).

¹⁴ See Jovanović (1979); Hitrec (1988).

implementation of legislation on paid leave, planning of holidays, construction of excursion centers, organization of mass excursions, responsibility booking workers' holiday centers to capacity with the best of the employees.¹⁵

A year earlier the union had sent 1,200 Croatian workers on free summer holidays.¹⁶ They were accommodated in holiday centers. After the war these centers were frequently located on nationalized property, such as in privately owned villas or pre-war hotels, sites where "earlier leisure was practiced only by the bourgeoisie."¹⁷ Following the idea of social tourism, the state transferred the management of these properties to the trade unions, the federal and republican ministries, the army, as well as to mass organizations and associations. A special law on workers' holiday centers was passed by the federal parliament in 1958 and remained in force until 1965, when the question was first of all regulated by the new law on catering and later by laws on catering and tourism in 1974 and 1988, respectively.¹⁸

In June 1947, just in time for the summer season, the federal government issued an order on holiday benefits for trade union members.¹⁹ After receiving a certificate from the trade union branch, the employee and his/her family members were able to gain a 50 percent discount on trains and coaches, a 25 percent discount on accommodation if they stayed at the same place for at least five days, and a residence tax exemption. In subsequent years the federal authorities issued several orders, ordinances and instructions, all of which prescribed up to 60 percent reductions in price.²⁰ Although benefits were reduced between 1952 and 1954, and basic commercial principles introduced, social tourism did

¹⁵ HDA (Hrvatski državni arhiv), VSSH (Vijeće saveza sindikata Hrvatske, fond 1286), box 307, Socijalno odjeljenje, Odsjek za radnička odmarališta, *Zapisnik s radnog savjetovanja Socijalno-političkog odjela*, 17 December 1947.

¹⁶ See Radelić (1986, p. 23).

¹⁷ HDA VSSH 312, Odjeljenje za odmor radnika, *Izveštaj za II. tromjesečje 1948. god.*, 1948.

¹⁸ "Zakon o osnivanju i poslovanju odmarališta," *SL*, 26 (1958); "Osnovni zakon o ugostiteljskoj djelatnosti," *SL*, 8 (1965).

¹⁹ "Naredba o pogodnostima članova Jedinstvenih sindikata Jugoslavije za vrijeme iskorišćivanja godišnjeg odmora," *SL* 48 (1947).

²⁰ See Duda (2005).

not disappear.²¹ In the late 1950s, later known as the economic miracle period, the Croatian five-year development plan envisaged the development of domestic tourism as “an element of social standards.”²² In 1961, the renowned K-15 card was issued. This card entitled the holder who bought a round ticket for their annual leave to a 50 percent discount on air fares and a 75 percent discount on all other means of transport.²³ The amount discounted was refunded to the provider of the service in all cases by the state, more precisely from a federal fund to which the workers contributed 1.5 percent of their personal gross income.²⁴

However, from the 1960s on, the political focus shifted from social to foreign commercial tourism. As Tito himself constantly pointed out, this was in the national interest.²⁵ Hard currency was a vital revenue for the state and contributed to the balance of Yugoslav foreign trade. In line with this new orientation, the 1966–1970 Croatian Development Plan gave unprecedented priority to foreign tourism.²⁶ Indeed, 1966 saw more foreign than Yugoslav tourist overnights in Croatia for the first time since the Second World War. Despite strong opposition, travel reductions in the sphere of social tourism were cancelled; what remained was the workers’ holiday centers and a holiday allowance.²⁷

²¹ “Uputstvo o naknadi (regresu) popusta od prodajnih cijena pensionskih ugostiteljskih usluga i o postupku pri korištenju povlastica za vrijeme godišnjeg odmora,” *SL* 28 (1952); see also “Okolo ukidanja povlastica za godišnji odmor,” *Turistički pregled* 1 (1954).

²² “Društveni plan privrednog razvoja Narodne Republike Hrvatske za razdoblje od 1957. do 1961. godine,” *Narodne novine (NN)* 1 (1958).

²³ “Uputstvo o povlastici u vožnji prilikom korištenja godišnjeg odmora,” *SL* 18 (1961).

²⁴ HDA VSSH 1694, RVSSJ za Hrvatsku, Odbor za odmor i rekreaciju, *Informacija o nekim aktuelnim problemima odmora*, 10 September 1965, also includes SIV, *Ukidanje povlastica u putničkom saobraćaju*, 26 July 1965; HDA, VSSH, 1818, GV Zagreb, OOR, *Informacija o nekim problemima povodom ukidanja karte K-15 i usmjeravanja korištenja sredstava Fonda zajedničke potrošnje za odmor i rekreaciju*, 7 January 1966.

²⁵ See “Pri vrhu svjetskog turizma,” *Turizam* 11–12 (1978).

²⁶ “Društveni plan razvoja Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske za razdoblje 1966–1970. godine,” *NN* 30 (1966).

²⁷ “Zakon o prestanku važenja Odluke o osobama koje imaju pravo na povlasticu u vožnji prilikom korištenja godišnjeg odmora i Odluke o



Figure 1. *Holiday allowance as a lifebelt at the beach (Radničke novine, 1974)*

Since state sponsoring ceased after 1965, several firms were unable to retain their centers. Some were sold, others were left in poor condition, and at the same time a number of modern centers were newly erected. The fate of these centers depended on the workers' council and the amount of company funds available.

The most hotly debated issue in the course of twenty-five years, and certainly the topic most controversially discussed in the press, was the allowance or *regres* popularly known thereafter as "K-15."

određivanju povlastica u putničkom saobraćaju," *SL* 56 (1965). HDA VSSH 1588, *Informacija o stavovima radnih organizacija u vezi ukidanja povlastica u putničkom saobraćaju (K-15)*, 1964; HDA VSSH 1694, CV SSJ, OOR, *Informacija o predlozima i rešenjima za ukidanje dosadašnjeg sistema povlastica u putničkom saobraćaju*, 27 September 1965.

The problems associated with this allowance dealt a heavy blow to the structure of social tourism, which in the 1970s and 1980s was run by the trade unions and the self-management associations for rest and recreation (*Samoupravna interesna zajednica za odmor i rekreaciju, SIZOR*). Each enterprise or institution—officially referred to at the time as the “organization of associated work” (*Organizacija udruženog rada, OUR*) and based on the principle of self-management—was free to decide how the 1.5 percent gross income that did not go to the federal fund after 1965 was to be channeled, and whether it should be earmarked for personal holiday allowances or not. Numerous solutions were of course presented, as well as methods of calculating the amount paid.²⁸ In Croatia, for example, although it had been decided in 1974 that the allowance should amount to 30–60 percent of the average monthly income, no more than 80 percent of the organizations had the economic capacity to guarantee this sum.²⁹ Even where this might have been possible, the allowance itself was not sufficient to cover holiday expenses, an aspect that discouraged a large number of workers.³⁰ High-income groups saw it as pocket money, while the majority altered the original purpose of the cash received, often using it to top up their family budgets, i.e., to pay bills or buy food, clothes, and household goods.³¹ The money was frequently distributed well in advance of the summer holidays; surveys and estimates indicated that only a third of the *regres* funds were actually used for travelling.³² Although enterprises allocated funds to social tourism and recreation to the tune of billions of dinars, only some 20 percent was used for *odmarališta*, organized holidays, or purposes other than the designated personal holiday allowance.³³ It was a form of privatization of finances designated “for the needs of society, and not merely the interests of the individual.” Since the

²⁸ See, e.g., “Okrugli stol Radničkih novina o temi—odmor i rekreacija,” *RN*, 17 May 1974.

²⁹ “Odmor je nužna životna potreba,” *RN*, 23 January 1976.

³⁰ See, e.g., “Za odmor—tri regresa!” *RN*, 29 June 1973.

³¹ See, e.g., “Okrugli stol Radničkih novina o temi—odmor i rekreacija,” *RN*, 17 May 1974; “Gužva oko regresa,” *RN*, 24 March 1980; “Regres kao džeparac,” *RN*, 18 May 1981.

³² See Prka (1976).

³³ “Samoupravljanje umjesto burzi,” *RN*, 8 May 1978.

allowance was popularly perceived as a thirteenth monthly salary, no one dared to reorganize the system of payments or introduce a form of control.³⁴

Nevertheless, several trade union and *SIZOR* ideas were implemented. In 1982, it was agreed that the allowance system be organized on the principles of solidarity, reciprocity and differentiation.³⁵ The municipal *SIZORs* and trade union councils were able to negotiate with the local *OURs* on these grounds and to sign a contract defined as a self-management agreement (*samoupravni sporazum, SAS*). In Rijeka, for example, it was agreed in the same year to redirect 15 percent of the *regres* funds into a separate fund to cover holiday expenses for needy workers.³⁶ As a result some 3,000 workers from Rijeka enjoyed a free holiday that year. The general idea was to amalgamate dispersed funds and use them to greater advantage, i.e., to leave a large sum for personal allowances, albeit of varying amounts, and also to channel funds towards free holidays or the renovation and construction of the more modern workers' holiday centers. In 1976, however, only a third of the local municipalities in Croatia managed to organize a *SIZOR*, and by 1983, *SAS* agreements had only been signed in 12 percent of municipalities, while in 57 percent the old *regres* system had not changed at all.³⁷ By 1986, only 32 percent of Zagreb *OURs* had signed the *SAS* agreement, although 85 percent of employees were in favor of receiving the holiday allowance as usual.³⁸ *Radničke novine* was obliged to conclude: "We neglected our workers' holiday centers and let them decay. Nor did we provide anything else. The allowances and *SIZORs* underwent shameful deformation..."³⁹

³⁴ "Samoupravljanje umjesto burzi," *RN*, 8 May 1978; "Regres: Ili trinaesta plaća?" *RN*, 21 February 1983.

³⁵ "Regres za godišnji odmor—namjenski," *RN*, 18 January 1982.

³⁶ "Plan je već i premašen," *RN*, 15 November 1982.

³⁷ "Regres nije jedino rješenje," *RN*, 13 August 1976; "Naša tema: Vidjeti naše more!" *RN*, 6 June 1983.

³⁸ "Odmor pravo i obveza," *RN*, 15–22 December 1986.

³⁹ "Hoćemo li ljetovati?" *RN*, 23 April 1984.

Construction: Setting up a Workers' Holiday Center

The legislation on domestic and social tourism had a direct impact on the numbers of domestic tourists and workers' holiday centers, as well as on accommodation capacities. According to official statistics, the result of close monitoring of developments in tourism, Yugoslavia boasted 16,810 beds in holiday centers, 14,554 or 86.6 percent of which were in Croatia, following the new law on workers' centers passed in 1958.⁴⁰ This is only one in a series of figures that confirm the leading position of Croatia in the Yugoslav tourist industry.⁴¹ The figures increased rapidly during the years of the economic miracle, and apart from a slight decline in 1962 immediately after the first economic reform, continued to rise until 1965. By this time Yugoslavia had 72,783 holiday center beds, 52,268 or 71.9 percent of which were in Croatia.

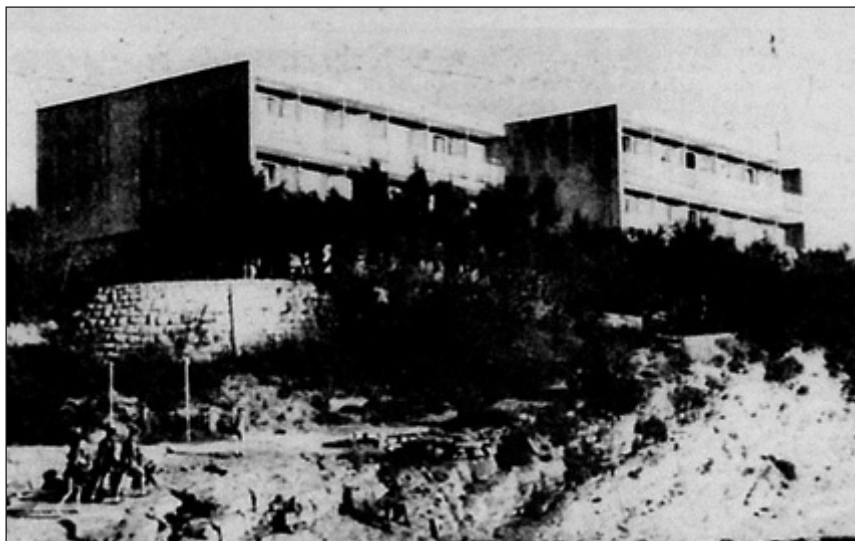


Figure 2. A “representative” odmaralište in Novigrad near Zadar
(*Radničke novine*, 1976)

⁴⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, statistical data is taken from *Statistički godišnjak Hrvatske (SGH)* and *Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije (SGJ)*.

⁴¹ See Kobašić (1987); Vukonić (2005).

After the crisis in social tourism as a result of the second economic reform in 1965, the figures again increased as of the late 1960s. Croatia was the location of 51,817 beds in 1970, 65,982 in 1975, 68,228 in 1980, and 76,061 in 1985, figures that were constantly just over two-thirds of the total Yugoslav capacity. The peak was reached in 1988, with 80,335 holiday center beds in Croatia. Although in the long run the number of beds in workers' holiday centers steadily increased, commercial tourism was developing rapidly, leaving the share of worker's centers in total number of beds in Croatia in an approximate decline of ten percent each decade, i.e., from around 30 percent in the early 1950s to 20 percent ten years later, and only 10 percent in the early 1970s. However, the high Croatian figures did not translate to overdeveloped social tourism for Croatian workers in comparison to other Yugoslavs. In 1980, for example, Croatian labor organizations owned only 40.4 percent of beds in holiday centers in Croatia. The rest belonged to other republics: 25.5 percent to Serbia, 23.6 to Slovenia, and 10.4 to Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴² In the 1970s and 1980s, approximately 80 percent of beds in Yugoslav workers' holiday centers were situated on the Yugoslav seaside coast, the vast majority of which lay in Croatia, a summer meeting point for Yugoslav tourists in general, as well as for millions of foreigners. The most popular municipalities were Makarska and Biograd in Dalmatia, Crikvenica in Hrvatsko Primorje, and Poreč and Buje in Istria. These five areas contained 46.7 percent of holiday center beds in Croatia. There were at least two reasons for the popularity of the coast. Firstly, the Mediterranean had become an attractive European destination and summer beach activities were popular worldwide. Secondly, the construction of low-cost accommodation was more suitable there than inland in the country, since insulation and heating did not have to be installed. Construction costs were reduced further by making use of other options. The lack of beds at the principal holiday center sites led firms to spread social tourism to rented accommodation in private households and camps. According to statistics from 1980, only 58.1 percent of beds were actually in holiday centers, 28.1 percent were in private households, and 13.4 percent in caravans and tents.⁴³

⁴² *Odmarališta 1980* (1981).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Apart from auxiliary social accommodation, several key steps needed to be taken before a workers' holiday center was ready for visitors. The future owner had to choose a favorable location, buy the property, place the order to construct the project, build and furnish the center, employ staff, and, finally, give a warm welcome to the first tourists.

Choosing and buying an appropriate site for a holiday center was more complicated than it had been shortly after the Second World War, especially from the mid-1960s on. In the late 1940s, many of the smaller seaside resorts did not have surplus accommodation at their disposal for commercial tourism, since their facilities were occupied in total by state-sponsored tourists. When restoration of an existent building or construction of a new center was planned, trade union or state officials had the task of choosing the right location. After taking care of the initial selection, local officials made a list of potential solutions and sent it to the administration at the republican level. This was followed by a second round of selection. If the final investor was at the federal level, the shortlist was sent to Belgrade. In 1947, the Central Committee of the United Trade Unions of Yugoslavia was in charge of building centers throughout the federation, and therefore asked the Head Office of the United Trade Unions of Croatia for assistance.⁴⁴ The response from Croatia consisted of a four-page list with descriptions of pre-selected sites in Dalmatia, including details on natural surroundings, infrastructure facilities, pre-war purpose, current ownership, and the benefits that new developments could bring to the local community and beyond. In Kaštel Štafilić near Split, for example, the Budanko pension was located near the beach: "It is owned by the widow Kuzmanić, who has neither the possibility, the will, nor the ability to renovate it on her own, so she put it up for sale. Buying or expropriating it should be considered in order to get the place up to standard, at least for 1949."⁴⁵ In Zaostrog and Živogošće, in the area of Makarska, two monasteries were spotted: "Huge buildings with gardens, beaches, and water, but totally unused. In Zaostrog there is space for a hundred beds, although only three or four monks live there..."⁴⁶ One monastery was already in use as a children's home, but both sites were considered ideal for "writers, artists, and

⁴⁴ HDA VSSH 307, CO JSJ, Otek za radnička odmarališta, 24 July 1947.

⁴⁵ HDA VSSH 307, GO JSH, 21 October 1947.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

intellectual workers who want and need the peace and quiet of nature.” The trade union officials were certain that the Franciscan provincial would not be averse to the idea, but further negotiations were to be expected.

Once the holiday center site had been successfully chosen, ownership formalities settled and contracts signed, construction could begin. In 1948, the Central Committee of the United Trade Unions of Yugoslavia decided to build a holiday center near the Plitvice Lakes in central Croatia. A description of the project was sent to the Croatian office, which in turn had to find an architect to implement the idea.⁴⁷ The center was planned for three hundred visitors and consisted of several sections: an accommodation unit, a recreational unit (a reading room, rooms to play chess, pool, and table tennis, and a music room), a catering unit (dining hall, kitchen, and storage), an administrative unit, a clinic (two rooms and a bathroom), a residential unit for the staff, and a sports unit (grounds for volleyball, basketball, tennis, and bowling). According to the design, single rooms were 8–10 m² and double rooms approximately 14 m². Tito’s preoccupation with tourism in the late 1960s also included the size of the rooms: “After all, one cannot sleep well if the ceiling is too low or the room too small, and if there are maybe other inconveniences connected to it.”⁴⁸ Nonetheless, according to a plan for the holiday center in Jelsa on the island of Hvar from 1965, the sleeping niche for two beds was no bigger than five square meters.⁴⁹ Altogether this design was less complex than the concept for Plitvice. It included prefabricated bungalows close to the beach, which were interconnected with shady paths under pine trees, as well as small parks with oleander, roses, and rosemary. The camp design included eighty bungalows produced by the Bosnian timber industry Krivaja in Zavidovići, as well as a restaurant, sports grounds, and a car park. A similar center owned by Tempo, a Zagreb construction company, was situated in Vodice near Šibenik in Dalmatia: “The center is very pleasant. Each room with a sea view has a balcony. The rooms are clean

⁴⁷ HDA VSSH 312, CO JSJ, *Program sindikalnog odmarališta na Plitvičkim jezerima*, 13 February 1948.

⁴⁸ “Titovi pogledi na turizam,” *Turizam* 5 (1980).

⁴⁹ HDA VSSH 1694, *Prijedlog investicionog programa izgradnje centra za odmor*, 27 July 1965.

and bright, and contain three or four beds and a washbasin. There is a common bathroom in the corridor.”⁵⁰ The atmosphere was similar at the center further north belonging to the Croatian water resource management association (*Udruženje vodoprivrednih organizacija, SRH*) in Sveti Filip i Jakov, near Biograd in Dalmatia: “Each cottage consists of four small apartments that really have it all—a washroom, a refrigerator and a stove. [...] Nearby there is a nice restaurant with a terrace, surrounded with swings, merry-go-rounds and other playthings for children.”⁵¹ Further north again, in Sukošan near Zadar, the state postal and phone company PTT Zagreb opened a holiday center in 1958 with at first only two wooden cottages. Twenty years later, however, there were 180 beds in stone houses situated among the pine trees by the beach.⁵² In 1987, the holiday facilities located in Poreč in Istria belonging to the Zagreb-based national oil company INA-Naftaplin were considered to be among the best in the country.⁵³ The center was perceived as a high-standard, Category B hotel, with 140 beds in single, double, and triple rooms with bathroom, as well other facilities that made the stay more pleasant.

In 1950, the trade union office for the organization of holidays strongly recommended a high level of tidiness and also advised on the interior design: “In our centers there must be perfect order and cleanliness in every corner [...] To give the center a more cultured appearance efforts must be made to have as many flowers and paintings as possible.”⁵⁴ The office also suggested that furniture and fittings be serviced regularly and not left in disrepair for long periods. The domestic industry was normally responsible for furnishings; the owners of the centers approached the factories directly with their orders, paying attention to design and color.⁵⁵ On the other hand, since the centers were of a basic nature and low in cost; design was not a prominent fac-

⁵⁰ “Tempo u Vodicama,” *RN*, 23 August 1974.

⁵¹ “Ljeto, odmori, turizam: Sunce i more za radost,” *RN*, 8 August 1977.

⁵² “Sukošan—centar radničkih odmarališta,” *RN*, 21 August 1978.

⁵³ “Nema što nema,” *RN*, 7 September 1987.

⁵⁴ HDA VSSH 321, SSJ, GO za Hrvatsku, Uprava za organizaciju odmora, 9 June 1950.

⁵⁵ HDA VSSH 312, Tvornica pokućstva iz savijenog drva Bobić Florijan Varaždin, *Stolice*, 11 May 1948; GO JSH, reply, 7 June 1948.

tor. The demand for functionality had priority. The interior of the cottages on the island of Hvar were merely equipped with stoves, beds, blankets, sheets, tables, and chairs. In 1962, the bare necessities were considered adequate for the perfect holiday center.⁵⁶ The 1,200 guests were to be accommodated in rooms furnished with three beds, a wardrobe, a coffee table, two chairs, an ashtray, and a doormat. However, a library with 1,200 books (one book per person) was planned, as well as leisure equipment and two excursion boats. The staff was to include an animator, three sport instructors, and a debating club organizer. Unfortunately, the reality was a far cry from this ideal model. The thirty-six employees of the trade union holiday center in Opatija did not include a librarian or an animator in 1958.⁵⁷ In addition, problems arose with undisciplined members of staff.⁵⁸ Similar may have been expected in Zadar, where the manager held a meeting on the day of the opening, reminding staff members to take their duties seriously: "Everybody has to work in harmony, respect older and higher staff members, especially in front of guests. Everyone must take care of order and cleanliness."⁵⁹

Attitudes towards workers who came to the holiday centers shortly after the Second World War were unproblematic. On the contrary, locals "would welcome them with special programs, flags, and songs."⁶⁰ The trouble began in the late socialist decades when negotiations to acquire a holiday center were more complicated than in the post-war administrative period, and involved buying property rather than making use of nationalized or rented accommodation. On the supply side, the local municipality pursued its own best interests. In the early 1960s, the Zagreb-based textile industry Kamensko reached an agreement and signed a twenty-year contract with the municipality of Crikvenica, southeast of Rijeka.⁶¹ Kamensko was given the use of an old monastery

⁵⁶ Šarić and Torer (1962).

⁵⁷ HDA VSSH 375, *Izvod iz zapisnika sa sjednice sekretarijata RV SSJ za Hrvatsku*, 20 September 1958.

⁵⁸ HDA VSSH 321, SSJ, GO za Hrvatsku, Uprava za organizaciju odmora, 9 June 1950.

⁵⁹ HDA VSSH 321, Radničko odmaralište Bare Burčula Zadar, *Zapisnik*, 1 April 1950.

⁶⁰ "Noge u laboru?" *RN*, 2 June 1986.

⁶¹ "Džepovi određuju godišnji odmor," *RN*, 15 August 1975; "Pauk se odmara u samostanu," *RN*, 10 August 1981.

for a holiday center, and in turn built a textile factory that provided employment for the locals. In 1963, the center was open for the four summer months and had a capacity of 200 for the 800 Kamensko employees and co-operators. Workers paid half price.⁶² Almost twenty years later, the center operated for only two and a half months in the summer. Although the location and the food were excellent, the center itself was in poor condition: "Not a single room has running water and patient queuing is sometimes needed for bathrooms and toilets."⁶³ In the 1980s, Kamensko wanted to retain the center and sign a new contract. The municipality, which at the time hosted more than a hundred centers, rejected their application. Since Crikvenica was interested in developing commercial tourism on the site and Kamensko did not want to move to another location, the case was taken to court, where the municipality won the day.⁶⁴ To avoid situations of this kind and adapt to new conditions, the timber industry DIK Stjepan Sekulić Jucko in Nova Gradiška, Slavonia, bought a plot in Biograd in Dalmatia in 1976.⁶⁵ It did not have the financial wherewithal to begin construction immediately and planned to wait for more prosperous times. In the meantime, however, the municipality changed its plans and insisted on a higher-quality building that would equal a Category B hotel, a nationwide demand. Unable to afford this venture or introduce infrastructure to a site offered in exchange, the factory eventually abandoned its *odmaralište* in 1989.

It was common knowledge that conditions in various workers' holiday centers were not identical. In 1961, the Federal Market Inspectorate issued a warning with regard to the quality of the accommodation and catering facilities: "The technical and hygienic condition of the rooms and of the appliances and equipment in the buildings do not meet the standards..."⁶⁶ Pero Milišić, secretary of the Zagreb self-management association for tourism and recreation complained about the situation in the holiday centers in 1984: "When standards increased in the 1960s

⁶² HDA VSSH 1460, VSSH OOR, *Materijali za godišnji izvještaj*, 1963.

⁶³ "Pauk se odmara u samostanu," *RN*, 10 August 1981.

⁶⁴ "Noge u laboru?" *RN*, 2 June 1986.

⁶⁵ "Od mora—ništa," *RN*, 26 June 1989.

⁶⁶ HDA VSSH 575, Savezni tržišni inspektorat, *Informacija o stanju i organizaciji odmarališta*, 11 July 1961.

and we rapidly put our faith in the rich future that awaited us, we neglected the workers' holiday centers. [...] Or we sold them or let them decline, so that not many have been preserved, and those that have are in bad shape."⁶⁷ Two years later a survey confirmed that technical conditions in holiday centers were inadequate: more than 50 percent of the rooms had three or more beds, two-thirds of the rooms had neither a bathroom nor a toilet, a third had cold water only, and more than half of the centers were unable to meet the standards of any of the categories required for tourist accommodation.⁶⁸ The old buildings that had been used for social tourism from the late 1940s had aged further by the 1960s. New centers opened in the 1960s were somewhat dilapidated by the 1980s. Reforms to the system of social tourism in the early 1950s and mid-1960s combined with wider social change played a decisive role in the deterioration of the workers' holiday centers.⁶⁹ Prompted by the condition of the buildings, some municipalities insisted on neat surroundings for the sake of commercial tourism. The municipality of Opatija complained about the shabbiness of the holiday center owned by the agricultural enterprise IPK Osijek, which was located in the former Hotel Royal.⁷⁰ IPK Osijek invested in the center and transformed it to such an extent that it was granted Category B hotel status, although primarily intended for firm employees and agriculturists. Both the municipality and the guests demonstrated their satisfaction at the improvements.

On the other hand, the workers themselves were not put out by conditions in the holiday centers. In other words, those who went to *odmaralište* because they liked it or because it was their only opportunity to have a holiday by the sea were prepared to tolerate most of the defects. In 1974, Franjo Pijanec, who had been working for thirteen years as a car mechanic in Tempo, a construction company based in Zagreb, spent his ninth summer in the Tempo holiday center in Vodic with his wife and two sons. Although highly satisfied with the accommodation and the atmosphere, he had one complaint: "It might be silly

⁶⁷ "Čuda nema," *RN*, 19 November 1984.

⁶⁸ Hitrec (1988).

⁶⁹ Racan (1974); Jovanović (1979).

⁷⁰ "Royal za ratare! Zašto ne?" *RN*, 10 August 1981.

to talk about it, but the bed is spoiling my mood. I'm on a holiday and I wake up drowsy and in bad humor. All the mattresses should be replaced in the center."⁷¹

Promotion: The Struggle to Create a Need

As soon as annual paid leave became an entitlement and social tourism networks began to function, it transpired that not all workers were willing to become tourists. Free or affordable holidays by the sea did not appeal to everyone. The difficulties associated with recruiting masses of holiday-makers were mainly of a demographic-economic nature, and were the same wherever mass domestic tourism had begun to take root.⁷² Despite a phase of forced industrialization and modernization in the late 1940s, the share of the agrarian population in the labor force at the federal level had decreased to 67 percent by the 1953 census. Apart from intra-Yugoslav economic differences, persistent change saw a drop in the federal average to 58 percent in 1961, 47 percent in 1971 and 27 percent in 1981. However, the growing strata of new industrial workers and city-dwellers, as well as fresh white-collar workers were not eager to rapidly embrace new lifestyles. Although many changed their occupations, they remained physically or mentally in the village and spent their free time working in agriculture. The need for tourism had to be created.

In the late 1940s, the trade union head office in Zagreb was swamped with reports of workers refusing to become tourists during their annual leave. Since the trade union was the principal organizer of visits to workers' holiday centers, the head office traditionally distributed a certain number of vouchers (*uputnica*) to the local union branches, which were then in charge of awarding them to their members, albeit not to their families. The vouchers were valid for a specific destination and specific dates. As a result, vouchers were returned unused and became a problem. Behind the various reasons given, ranging from wrong time to wrong destination, was the simple wish to stay at home.

⁷¹ "Tempo u Vodicama," *RN*, 23 August 1974.

⁷² Cf. Furlough (1998, pp. 258–9).

In 1949, the workers from Raša in Istria were unwilling to travel to Ulcinj in Montenegro because it was “too far away.”⁷³ The workers in Opatija, Pula, and Split showed no interest in going to Ulcinj, or even to the centers in Arandjelovac in Serbia or Ohrid in Macedonia, but alternatively suggested visiting a center in Croatia or Slovenia.⁷⁴ Union members from the island of Korčula were reluctant to travel to Arandjelovac, and those from the island of Vis were disinclined to leave it, at least in winter.⁷⁵ The lack of enthusiasm for holiday centers was not confined to the Adriatic branches. Vouchers were also returned from inland Croatia.⁷⁶ The union branch of Imotski in the interior of Dalmatia informed the head office in Zagreb that they were unable to find enough holiday-makers despite their efforts and meetings, primarily because their members wanted “to stay with their families.”⁷⁷ The neighboring branch of Sinj explained that their members were mostly peasants who did not want to leave their farms.⁷⁸ The handwritten letter from Gračac in the inland region of Lika was quite straightforward: “...the comrades do not want to go to workers’ holiday centers, but prefer to spend their holidays at home.”⁷⁹ The reply was more specific from Ivanec in Hrvatsko Zagorje, where union members refused to travel during the winter, while members from Supetar on the island of

⁷³ HDA VSSH 317, Sindikalna podružnica Saveza rudara Raša, 19 July 1949.

⁷⁴ HDA VSSH 320, Mjesno vijeće (MV) Opatija, 23 January 1950; SSJ; Kotarsko vijeće (KV) Split, February 24, 1950; HDA VSSH 321, SSJ, MV Pula, 22 April 1950.

⁷⁵ HDA VSSH 320, SSJ, KV Korčula, 21 March 1950; SSJ, KV Vis, 20 January 1950.

⁷⁶ HDA VSSH 320, SSJ, KV Velika Gorica, 9 February 1950; SSJ, GO za Hrvatsku, Uprava za organizaciju odmora radnika i službenika (UOORS), 11 February 1950; Sindikat radnika i službenika kožarsko-prerađivačke industrije, Podružnica Vinkovci, 17 February 1950; SSJ, KV Jastrebarsko, 20 February 1950.

⁷⁷ HDA VSSH 317, Sindikat radnika i službenika trgovačkih poduzeća Jugoslavije, Podružnica Imotski, 2 June 1949; HDA VSSH 321, SSJ, KV Imotski, 4 May 1950.

⁷⁸ HDA VSSH 320, SSJ, KV Sinj, 21 March 1950.

⁷⁹ HDA VSSH 321, SSJ, KV Gračac, 11 April 1950.

Brač returned their vouchers with the comment that the weather would be too cold and the restaurant too expensive.⁸⁰

On the other hand, several branches ran out of vouchers and asked the head office for reserves, especially in the summer, which led to the issuing of unplanned vouchers (*vanplanske uputnice*).⁸¹ The general situation of overcrowded centers in some locations during the summer, half-empty centers in less popular locations and empty centers in the winter was greeted with little enthusiasm by the head office, as it disrupted their plans. In the late 1940s, the head office reacted vigorously on several occasions. When the branch from Pregrada in Hrvatsko Zagorje returned the vouchers, the head office admonished the local officials: "...you did not engage at all in this sector or explain the importance of holidays to your employees."⁸² Podravska Slatina, Hrvatska Kostajnica, and Vrginmost (nowadays Gvozd) were all reprimanded in the same manner: "...vouchers remain unused because the instructions are not being read thoroughly."⁸³ In the spring of 1949, the Dubrovnik branch did not manage to assign the last three vouchers, and boldly enquired of the office in Zagreb: "...do we as trade union officials have to convince the members or dictate that they have to go to a holiday center whether they want to or not."⁸⁴ The response came a month later: "It is your obligation [...] to make sure that not a single voucher remains unused [...] However, this does not mean forcing someone to take a voucher. The members should be fully informed of the circumstances."⁸⁵ When trade union officials from Delnice in Gorski Kotar reported to the head office that they had done their best to explain the benefits of holiday-making, but that some workers "did not want to hear about it" and preferred to stay at home "attending their own busi-

⁸⁰ HDA VSSH 320, SSJ, KV Ivanec, 25 January 1950; HDA VSSH 321, Sindikat službenika državnih ustanova, Podružnica Supetar, 20 April 1950.

⁸¹ HDA VSSH 321, CO SSJ, UOORS, *Vanplansko slanje gostiju u domove odmora*, 10 May 1950; Slavonski Brod, 15 May and 16 August 1950; Glina, 13 July 1950; Kostajnica, 14 July 1950.

⁸² HDA VSSH 317, SSJ, GO za Hrvatsku, UOORS, 26 December 1949.

⁸³ HDA VSSH 320, SSJ, GO za Hrvatsku, UOORS, 31 March 1950.

⁸⁴ HDA VSSH 317, Sindikat financijskih službenika, Podružnica Dubrovnik, 7 May 1949.

⁸⁵ HDA VSSH 317, SSJ, GO za Hrvatsku, UOORS, 7 June 1949.

ness,” they and their colleagues from Opatija received help from Zagreb.⁸⁶ The trade union Office for Holidays and the Croatian Committee for Tourism decided on a plan of action, which included a slide show of the beauty of the country, followed by short lectures. The local officials were left with the crucial task of securing a large audience that would stay on after work and respond to tourist propaganda.⁸⁷

Motives for travelling was still an issue ten years later, although the number of domestic overnights in Yugoslavia had increased from 8.6 million in 1950 to 19.5 million in 1960. In an interview with *Vjesnik*, the leading Croatian daily, Stjepan Kolarek, the president of the workers’ council at Varteks, a textile factory in Varaždin in north Croatia, indicated that he was well aware of the situation: “The majority of workers come from the village. Many simply don’t feel the need to go away in the summer. For some of them seaside holidays are a ‘luxury,’ something peculiar to ‘gentlemen’ rather than workers.”⁸⁸ On being offered a free holiday on the island of Rab, an old Varteks worker replied: “Thank you comrades, but no. In my thirty years of service I’ve never spent my holidays at the seaside. That’s not for me.”⁸⁹ Although perceived as the core of revolutionary progress and the group most deserving of a well-earned rest from physically hard work, industrial workers generally proved resistant when it came to putting holiday policies into practice. Union activists and tourism experts had the choice of targeting the younger generation or fighting old lifestyles and beliefs at all costs. In practice, a blend of both approaches was used, although union, party, and state officials were often highly critical of the actions taken and results achieved.

The workers generally appreciated day excursions with their colleagues, but showed reluctance when it came to leaving home for a longer period. To make them feel more at home, the authors of the perfect holiday center program suggested in 1962 that tourists take their own bed linen to the holiday center.⁹⁰ It seems, however, this

⁸⁶ HDA VSSH 320, SSJ, KV Delnice, 7 February 1950.

⁸⁷ HDA VSSH 320, SSJ, GO za Hrvatsku, UOORS, 8 February 1950.

⁸⁸ “Nije uzrok samo u novcu,” *Vjesnik*, 19 June 1958, in Duda (2005, pp. 86–7).

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Šarić and Torer (1962).

idea never came to fruition, but a number of other symbolic and non-symbolic actions were undertaken. The trade union administration for tourism, holidays, and recreation made a greater effort in terms of social tourism: "There is a growing possibility of and need for quality and a more diverse use of leisure time, which leads us to step up our endeavors to organize cultural life, leisure, and recreation in such a way as to genuinely render them accessible to the working people of our country."⁹¹ In 1953, the local tourist societies were amalgamated into the Croatian and Yugoslav Tourist Associations (*Turistički savez Hrvatske*, *Turistički savez Jugoslavije*), one of whose many goals was "bringing the masses closer to tourism."⁹² In 1958, the Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia emphasized care of "everyday needs and provisions, rest, and leisure."⁹³ Tourism associations printed tourist journals, magazines, and brochures, and shot tourist films. They also organized large exhibitions on tourism and leisure, with both "promotional and educational character," since people needed "continuous encouragement and persistent instruction in order to utilize their work achievements more successfully."⁹⁴

All of this activity, and above all rising standards of living, brought an increase in domestic overnights in Yugoslavia. Figures gradually rose from 19.5 million in 1960, doubling from 25.9 million in 1970 to 50.1 million in 1980, to reach a peak of 59.7 million in 1986. One year later, however, the representatives at the Republican Conference of the Socialist League of Working People of Croatia (*Socijalistički savez radnog naroda Hrvatske*, *SSRNH*) still saw domestic tourism in Yugo-

⁹¹ HDA VSSH 1459, *Uloga i zadaci sindikata u oblasti odmora zaposlenih*, 1963.

⁹² Antunac and Franjić (1983, p. 56).

⁹³ *Program Saveza komunista Jugoslavije. Prihvaćen na Sedmom kongresu Saveza komunista Jugoslavije (22–26. travnja 1958. u Ljubljani)* (1965, p. 202).

⁹⁴ "Izložba je zatvorena, ali posao tek počinje," *Turizam* 6 (1960). Also: "Izložba turizma i ugostiteljstva Jugoslavije," *Turistički pregled* 10–12 (1954); HDA VSSH 484, *Izveštaj o turističkoj izložbi na jesenjem Zagrebačkom velesajmu 1960.*, 1960; HDA VSSH 485, *Biro za turističku propagandu Zagreb, Konceptija turističke izložbe na jesenjskom Zagrebačkom velesajmu 1960. godine*, 1960; HDA VSSH 1460, TSH, *Konceptija izložbe na jesenjem međunarodnom Zagrebačkom velesajmu*, 1963.

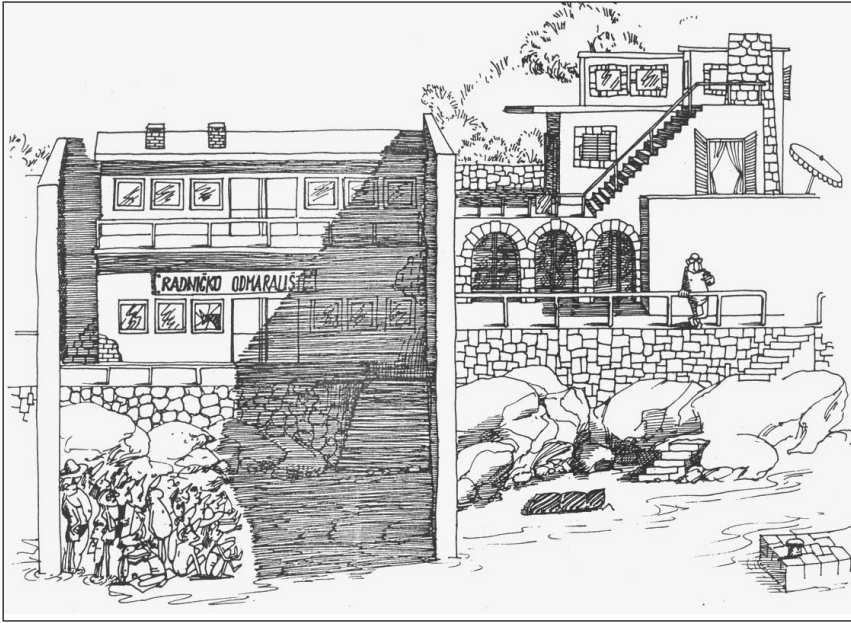


Figure 3. *Odmaralište overshadowed by private / commercial / individual tourism (Radničke novine, 1984)*

slavia as underdeveloped, and overshadowed by a need for foreign currency.⁹⁵

The Conference concluded that although tourism had become an “essential existential need” and an “inseparable element of the living standard,” more should be done to promote the culture of tourism so that domestic tourism could progress to become an “inseparable segment of overall socialist development.”⁹⁶ Not everyone was in a position or prepared to become a tourist, and half of the Yugoslav population were not regular holiday-makers during their annual leave. However, lack of interest or need as reasons for staying at home constituted some ten percent of cases in 1961 but only five percent in 1982.⁹⁷ In the face of the financial difficulties of the 1980s, *Radničke novine*

⁹⁵ “Uloga Socijalističkog saveza na usmjeravanju društvene akcije u razvoju turizma,” “Stavovi i zaključci RK SSRNH,” *Turizam* 4 (1987).

⁹⁶ Ibidem, Stavovi i zaključci.

⁹⁷ Erak (1963); Milekić (1982).

concluded it was “hard for our people to give up the habit of and need for summer holidays.”⁹⁸ The shift had taken place and tourism was now a key element in people’s everyday lives.

Holiday-Making: Summers in Odmaralište

During the socialist era, Croatia was the annual destination of almost 50 percent of domestic tourists in Yugoslavia. According to official statistics on total domestic overnights in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, the workers’ holiday centers were the most frequently visited single category of accommodation in Croatia up to 1976, when hotels took over the leading position. Workers’ centers headed the list once again in 1985 and 1988, although from 1983 onwards they were forced to compete with camps for first or second position. At the time officially registered accommodation in private households held fourth position.⁹⁹ However, social accommodation had long since lost the battle with joint commercial accommodation, when in 1966 there were more domestic overnights in commercial units than in holiday centers for workers, children, and youth. The workers’ centers alone accounted for more than 30 percent of Yugoslav overnights in Croatia in the 1960s. During the 1970s and 1980s, the share dropped to between 20 and 30 percent, which means that approximately a quarter of Yugoslav overnight stays in Croatia were in the realm of *radničko odmaralište*. This represented two-thirds of the total domestic overnights in workers’ centers throughout Yugoslavia. Although there were several drawbacks associated with reforms in the economic and social tourism systems, in the long run the number of overnights increased—albeit more slowly than those in commercial tourism—and peaked in 1988, when more than six million Yugoslav overnights were registered in workers’ centers in Croatia. In terms of overnights, therefore, spending a holiday in an *odmaralište* in Croatia meant being one of four domestic tourists there and among two out of three Yugoslavs who made use of social tourism accommodation in some area of the federation.

⁹⁸ “Skupe porcije ljetnjeg sunca,” *RN*, 23 April 1984.

⁹⁹ Market research surveys ranked private accommodation highest. See next paragraph.

The typical Yugoslav took annual leave in the summer. One out of two or three went on holidays, usually to the Adriatic coast, where they stayed for a week or two, mostly with relatives or in rented accommodation. Tourists made arrangements without the help of a travel agent and financed their holiday without a long-term saving plan. Those with higher incomes, better education and smaller families, who lived in large urban centers away from the coast, were more likely to travel than others. Slovenians were those who travelled most. This summarizes briefly the outcome of numerous surveys carried out by federal and republican statistical bureaus and ZIT/CEMA, the market research agency. A closer look at the 1983 survey indicates that 45 percent of Yugoslavs travelled, while the rest stayed at home, 65 percent went to the coast, 68 percent stayed for 7–15 days, 33 percent lodged in rented rooms, 18 percent with relatives and friends, 16 percent in hotels, 13 percent in camps, ten percent in *odmaralište*, and seven percent in holiday cottages (*vikendica*).¹⁰⁰ An earlier Croatian survey from 1974 reported that 16 percent lodged in worker's holiday centers.¹⁰¹ According to a 1964 federal survey this type of accommodation was used by only 13.3 percent of Yugoslav tourists, while 51.4 percent stayed with relatives.¹⁰²

Shortly after the war, inexperienced travelers occasionally had difficulties in finding their allotted *odmaralište*. Ljubo Đermanović from Rijeka received a spa voucher and was sent to Vrnjci, Slovenia, although the correct destination was actually in Serbia.¹⁰³ Here, as in other cases where workers wandered around the country and spent more time travelling than in a holiday center, the head office in Zagreb was obliged to remind local branches to give detailed directions to the workers. These difficulties had vanished a generation or two later. In 1982, 54 percent of Yugoslav tourists travelled to their holiday destination via the commercial or the social network in their own cars.¹⁰⁴ The rest travelled by coach or train, and it was unlikely that the five percent who

¹⁰⁰ Crnković (1983); Sabol (1983).

¹⁰¹ *Korištenje godišnjeg odmora zaposlenih u 1974. godini* (1977).

¹⁰² HDA VSSH 1694, CV SSJ, *Podaci iz ankete o korišćenju godišnjih odmora radnika i službenika u 1964. godini*, Beograd, 1965.

¹⁰³ HDA VSSH 312, GO JSJ, 25 May 1948.

¹⁰⁴ Crnković (1983, pp. 95–104).

travelled by plane were heading for a social holiday center. The non-existence of car parks in holiday centers seems to have been a problem at the outset of mass motorization in the early 1960s, when visitors were discovered parking in the shade, destroying plants and grass in the process.¹⁰⁵

On arrival at an *odmaralište*, visitors were either pleasantly or unpleasantly surprised by the standard of accommodation. This depended entirely on the living conditions they were accustomed to at home, their financial status, level of expectations, and ability to adapt to new circumstances. Accordingly, workers occasionally wanted to stay longer than planned or leave the *odmaralište* as soon as possible. In 1949, Anton Peruško and Romano Bonadija, both from Pula and employed at Pula general hospital and Uljanik shipyard, respectively, were rewarded with a holiday. Disappointed with their rooms at the center, which was located on Sljeme Mountain just above Zagreb, however, they lodged a complaint with their local trade union branch, where it was forwarded to the Croatian head office: "...we came from sunny Istria and were thrown into a damp room on the ground floor that was not even fit for storage, let alone people on holidays."¹⁰⁶ Almost forty years later the holiday center in Posedarje near Zadar run by the Zagreb retail chain Unikonzum and the Zagreb *USIZOR* was described as "a handbook example."¹⁰⁷ Guests were accommodated in rooms and house trailers on the main site, as well as in local households with rooms to let. Dušan Kusonja, a worker in Monter Zagreb, stayed there for two weeks with his wife and two teenage sons. Their trailer was sheltered by pine trees, and the beach nearby was equipped with showers, slides, life-belts, boards, and sailboats. The food was excellent due to an arrangement with the local agricultural cooperative.

Holiday center food seems to have been the decisive factor when it came to positive or negative memories. In 1947, Jordan Birkić was sent as a tourist from Dalmatia to Sljeme and was obliged to make an official complaint about his holiday.¹⁰⁸ First of all, he did not enjoy

¹⁰⁵ HDA VSSH 1460, *Informacija o stanju odmarališta trgovinskih radnika NRH u Malinskoj*, 1963.

¹⁰⁶ HDA VSSH 320, MV Pula, 9 January 1950, including the members' letter of 22 December 1949.

¹⁰⁷ "Primjer za udžbenike," *RN*, 2 September 1985.

¹⁰⁸ HDA VSSH 307, *Izjava*, 5 March 1947.

the air, but the real reason for his discontent was the food: breakfast consisted merely of coffee with milk, while lunch and dinner were of poor quality. If he was looking for better quality, he would have to pay for it. Instead of the planned three weeks, he stayed a mere eight days, albeit long enough to lose more than two pounds in weight. A year later there were several complaints about the food at the trade union center in Biograd. Martin Klemenc from Slovenia wrote in his letter: "I came back home earlier because I was hungry as a result of insufficient food; it was not a holiday for me. During my stay in Biograd I lost four kilos. My comrades were similarly dissatisfied."¹⁰⁹ A group of miners from Raša in Istria were there at the same time and witnessed quarrels between the Slovenians and the Biograd staff. The Slovenians had expressed their dissatisfaction at only three meals per day, especially the poor quality of the dinners, and weight loss.¹¹⁰ The situation was so grave that the head office in Zagreb asked the manager of the Biograd center to dispatch weekly reports.¹¹¹ Behind the scenes, letters were sent from managers of workers' holiday centers to the head office in Zagreb containing information about lack of meat and other foodstuffs, and a request for regular deliveries.¹¹² There was no easy solution, since food shortages were common from the late 1940s to at least 1953, when rationing was officially abolished.

Menus from the late 1950s and early 1960s give an entirely different impression.¹¹³ Lunch and dinner were cooked meals that included soup, vegetables, fish, beef, veal, and pork, with cake and fruit as dessert. In 1963, the only problem in terms of food at the brand new center in Malinska on the island of Krk was the size of the self-service restaurant. Seating for seventy people inside and a further seventy on the terrace was simply inadequate for the three hundred and sixty guests,

¹⁰⁹ HDA VSSH 312, *Zapisnik*, 28 April 1948.

¹¹⁰ HDA VSSH 312, GO JSH, 5 May 1948; Savez radnika i namještenika rudarske industrije Raša, 20 May 1948.

¹¹¹ HDA VSSH 312, GO JSH, 5 May 1948.

¹¹² HDA VSSH 320, Dom odmora CO SSJ Narodnog Heroja Ivana Lučić-Lavčevića u Kaštel Starom, 9 March 1950; HDA VSSH 321, Dom odmora CO SSJ Jadran u Biogradu, 3 April 1950.

¹¹³ HDA VSSH 484, Dom odmora Đuro Strugar u Omišlju, *Jelovnik*, 31 July and 2 August 1959; HDA VSSH 575, Odmarašnice Vasa Miskin Crni u Lovranu, *Menu*, 24 January, 25 July and 13 August 1960.

all of whom stayed in the surrounding thirty prefabricated wooden cottages. The result was constant queuing, and the rushing of those who had come earlier: "People are on holidays. They want to eat their meal in peace and remain seated for a while, maybe have a coffee."¹¹⁴ Holiday centers frequently provided inland cuisine for guests from inland Croatia, and even employed inland cooks.¹¹⁵ In 1981, Radmila Ferenac worked as a cook in the Elektroslavonija center in Biograd, which led at least one local staff member to relish Slavonian cooking: "We prepare fourteen different soups, twenty-eight main courses, and twenty-five dinner courses, plus side dishes and desserts. No one goes hungry in this holiday center."¹¹⁶ In a small holiday center in Vrbnik on the island of Krk owned by the national railway branch of Slavonski Brod families cooked their own meals.¹¹⁷ Driver Ivan Sudić was happy with this arrangement: "We eat what we want. I'm paying for it. Early in the morning I take bread and fish, a little later some milk, and I take care of the kids while my wife is cooking." Marija Marić, the wife of a railway worker, did not mind having to cook: "After all, if we are not in the mood, we go for lunch to the hotel." Ružica Taboršak, who spent a holiday with her husband in Diklovac near Zadar, would like to have seen a kitchen and a restaurant in the center: "I'd like to be waited on for at least fifteen days a year."¹¹⁸

Apart from eating, what did people do in *odmaralište*? Although archival records have so far shown no evidence of political agitation in holiday centers, there were plans for cultural and educational programs, as well as leisure and sport activities. In 1949, the trade union head office in Croatia reported on activities and their results in three centers under its jurisdiction: visitors made use of the libraries, went to concerts, theatres, and cinemas, went on excursions and attended parties, listened to the radio, played chess, bowled, rowed, and took part in other sports.¹¹⁹ The report did call for more enthusiasm, how-

¹¹⁴ HDA VSSH 1460, *Informacija o stanju odmarališta trgovinskih radnika NRH u Malinskoj*, 1963.

¹¹⁵ "Ljeto, odmori, turizam: Sunce i more za radost," *RN*, 8 August 1977.

¹¹⁶ "Odrezak Štefani, omraženi zubatac i B. Shaw," *RN*, 10 August 1981.

¹¹⁷ "Smještaj za pet dinara," *RN*, 3 September 1979.

¹¹⁸ "Oni debljeg džepa ne dolaze," *RN*, 10 August 1981.

¹¹⁹ HDA VSSH 317, SSJ, GO za Hrvatsku, UOORS, *Izviještaj o kulturno-prosvjetnom radu u domovima odmora*, 31 October 1949.

ever, and suggested that table tennis and pool equipment be acquired, and visits by the local cultural societies organized. Twenty-five years later, nonetheless, managers in commercial tourism voiced their criticism of the inactivity and passivity of workers' holidays, declaring boredom and card games as the holiday center highlights.¹²⁰ Not only was the personal holiday allowance used for non-tourist purposes, but those who came to an *odmaralište* were merely provided with food, lodging, sea, and sun, while the rest was "left to imagination."¹²¹ In 1977, Anton Jasprica, an electrician at Konstruktor Rijeka, enjoyed his twenty-one days in Istarske Toplice, where he played *boccie* (boule) and pool, bowled and went for walks with other guests.¹²² Young visitors to the center in Diklovac near Zadar spent time with the locals, organized football matches, or went to a discotheque.¹²³ In the case of exceedingly hot summers, the majority may have preferred idleness and to be left in peace. This was the case with workers from Dilj Vinkovci who stayed at the holiday center in Grljevac near Omiš in central Dalmatia.¹²⁴ Svetozar Savičić was there with his wife and two children: "It's nice. I swim, sleep, watch TV, play cards, and so on. [...] What more do I want?" His colleague Stevo Jokić shared this opinion, almost as if they had both read about the right to be lazy: "What more do I need than swimming and sleeping? At work I have to bend down and get up a thousand times a day. [...] The only recreation I need is sleep."¹²⁵

However, tourism experts, sociologists, and leisure ideologists saw the matter quite differently and opposed "complete rest" based on sleeping and sun-bathing.¹²⁶ Tito was also of the opinion that swimming and eating should not be the crowning moments of a holiday, but rather organized leisure activities.¹²⁷ Against this backdrop, ideas on

¹²⁰ "Radnička odmarališta—pasivan i neaktivan odmor," *RN*, 27 July 1973.

¹²¹ "Do kreveta kako-tako, a dalje?" *RN*, 10 August 1981; "Glava na moru, noge u laboru," *RN*, 2 August 1982.

¹²² "Istarske toplice—oaza za rekreaciju radnika," *RN*, 28 January 1977.

¹²³ "Oni debljeg džepa ne dolaze," *RN*, 10 August 1981.

¹²⁴ "U klinču snova," *RN*, 10 August 1981.

¹²⁵ On the nineteenth-century Marxist idea of the right to be lazy, see Lafargue (1957 [1883], pp. 355–89).

¹²⁶ See, for example, Blovier (1979); Blagojević (1979).

¹²⁷ "Pri vrhu svjetskog turizma," *Turizam* 11–2 (1978); "Titovi pogledi na turizam," *Turizam* 5 (1980).

recreational tourism, preventive rest, and actively programmed holidays (*aktivni programirani odmor*, *APO*) came into focus in the early 1970s. Prior to *APO*, relations between recreation and tourism had been marked by two stages: firstly, the initiative was left completely to the guests; and secondly, sports facilities were built as an integral part of tourist villages and holiday centers.¹²⁸ Both policies turned out to be ineffective, especially for domestic social tourists. In a third stage, *APO* declared war on chronic tiredness and stress. The program was designed by sports experts at the University of Zagreb in 1971, who recommended six hours of supervised recreational activities daily for a ten-day period.¹²⁹ The mornings were taken up with compulsory customized fitness in a gym and afternoons with free sport activities. The workers were expected to feel physically better after their holiday and to a positive attitude about their health. The leader in the field was the tourist enterprise Plava Laguna in Poreč, Istria, whose hotels and sports facilities had hosted ten thousand *APO* users from a variety of occupations by 1979.¹³⁰ Bruno Šušković, a machinist with OKI Zagreb, felt revived on his free programmed holiday: "To put it simply, we recovered completely or, as we used to say, were tired in a healthy way. After that every meal tasted extremely good."¹³¹ Plava Laguna, Solaris Šibenik, and other *APO* providers were involved in commercial tourism, but hosted social tourists during the spring and the autumn. This coincided with the strategy of their superiors and the local authorities, both of whom insisted that modern active holidays could not be organized in a workers' holiday center, and that it was cheaper to bring the workers to existing commercial facilities unoccupied by foreigners off-season.¹³² Hence, what was good for the workers turned out to be good for others, too, or possibly the other way around.

Employees normally had to pay for their holiday, unless they were sent to an *odmaralište* on work merits or programmed recreation. In 1963, the average Croatian monthly wage was 29,300 dinars or 7,325 dinars per week. The regular tourist price for seven nights with full board

¹²⁸ Bimbašić (1979).

¹²⁹ "Što je to aktivni programirani odmor?" *RN*, 9 February 1980.

¹³⁰ See Bimbašić (1979).

¹³¹ "Aktivni odmor—potreba udruženog rada," *RN*, 3 September 1976.

¹³² "Radnička odmarališta—pasivan i neaktivan odmor," *RN*, 27 July 1973.

at the holiday center in Kraljevica in Hrvatsko Primorje, which was owned by the publishing house Narodne novine, was 6,300 dinars.¹³³ Social tourism, on the other hand, enabled guests to pay not more than 3,150 dinars, a sum normally earned with three days work. The K-15 card covered most of the travel expenses. Under these circumstances, a week at the seaside for working parents with two children could not be considered a luxury. One night with full board at the Rijeka holiday center founded by the meat-processing industry Gavrilović in Petrinja cost up to 700 dinars, 400 dinars less than the commercial price.¹³⁴ Here again a week-long stay would cost less than the average weekly wage. This was in line with the idea that holidays should not cost more than staying at home, and with the British ideal of the late 1930s at the outset of the holidays-for-all campaign: a week's holiday for a week's wage.¹³⁵

Decades later, in 1989, Heida Memović, a saleswoman from a newsstand in Zagreb explained in an interview with *Radničke novine*:

I'm going on holiday to Umag on 22 August. Thanks to a friend of mine I'm off to the Industrogradnja holiday center. Otherwise I really wouldn't have enough money for ten days on the Adriatic. Ten days with full board will cost me 70 old millions, which really isn't much. My last wages came to 186 millions, which is barely enough for the month, not to mention for a hotel or private accommodation. Times are hard, so we have to manage somehow. What else?¹³⁶

The saleswoman from the kiosk spent slightly more than a third of her monthly salary for a third of a month at the seaside. It was to be the last summer of the socialist era.

¹³³ HDA VSSH 1460, VSSH, OOR, *Materijali za godišnji izvještaj*, 1963.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ "Za odmortri regresa!," *RN*, 29 June 1973. On Billy Butlin and British holiday camps, see, e.g., Tomlinson and Walker (1990, pp. 221–41).

¹³⁶ "Mini RN anketa: Jeste li se odmorili?" *RN*, 21 August 1989. Industrogradnja was a leading construction company. The "old millions" were often used in everyday communication, although the "new dinar" had already been introduced in 1965 (1 new dinar = 100 old dinars).

Social Tourism: A Benefit and a Burden

The development and democratization of domestic tourism was perceived as an achievement of the revolution and the new social order: as officials never tired of pointing out, what was once reserved for a minority could now be consumed by the masses. Thus the main purpose of the social tourism system was to support the entrance of lower income groups to the world of tourism. Although blue-collar workers had the right social background for participation in social tourism, they turned out to be the most hesitant group for several reasons, particularly in the first two post-war decades. White-collar workers prevailed and in 1958 only a quarter of the workers' holiday center capacities belonged to the industrial sector.¹³⁷ This was confirmed by several statistical surveys.¹³⁸ In 1964, lower than average income groups spent their holidays for the most part with their relatives and only 13–20 percent stayed in *odmaralište*, where they were outnumbered by 25–35 percent of employees belonging to the group with average or double the average incomes.¹³⁹ Hence social tourism did not sufficiently serve the needs of those for whom it had originally been created and who required it most. When reforms were introduced in the 1960s, few tears were shed. As a result of rising standards of living, the more prosperous tended to abandon the now shabby workers' holiday centers, leaving them to blue-collar workers. Although the state introduced new regulations, it basically withdrew its support and left the burden of social holiday-making to the system of self-management. The wealthier organizations of associated work (*OUR*) turned out to be more involved, so that workers elsewhere began to miss the time when the state and the trade union took care of everything.¹⁴⁰

Apart from their social structure, the holiday centers also had other flaws. They were too small—centers in Croatia had an average of 170

¹³⁷ "Odmarališta društvenih i privrednih organizacija," *Turizam* 4–5 (1958).

¹³⁸ "Anketa o karakteristikama našeg domaćeg turizma," *Turizam* 3 (1957); "Korištenje odmora radničkih i službeničkih obitelji," *Turizam* 6 (1963).

¹³⁹ HDA VSSH 1694, CV SSJ, *Podaci iz ankete o korišćenju godišnjih odmora radnika i službenika u 1964. godini*, Beograd, 1965.

¹⁴⁰ "Tko ima para ljetovat će na moru..." *RN*, 9 April 1984.

beds in 1980—and were thus neither financially stable nor profitable, especially since their operation was mostly confined to the summer. Year after year there was the same lack of time and space to accommodate all those who wished to enjoy the sea with their children during the summer school holidays. The associations of the centers sporadically organized in the 1970s and 1980s failed to create a larger network and enable guest exchanges. It can be assumed that a number of workers did not appreciate returning to the same center for years in succession. Moreover, there were also those not enamored at the idea of spending their holidays with their fellow workers, i.e., in the same social surroundings they had in the workplace.¹⁴¹ Since the centers were quite modest as a rule, some of the guests had difficulty in adjusting to the quality of the service and accommodation. A vast majority of centers were situated on the coast and had therefore less appeal for the coastal population, who preferred to travel to the mountains or to spas. In addition, the latter frequently looked down on social tourists and showed more interest in developing commercial tourism.

However, the workers' holiday centers trained large numbers of workers in the art of being a tourist. Đulaga Seidović from Doboj in Bosnia and Herzegovina was sent to the island of Hvar in 1973 by his trade union and was greatly excited: "This is my first time at the sea. Up to now I had only seen it on TV."¹⁴² Marijan Suknar, employed at the Zagreb gasworks declared: "If we had no *odmaralište*, many would never see the sea."¹⁴³ Thousands came back summer after summer. Drago Gašparić, a postman, was a regular guest in Sukošan: "I have only the best to say about our *odmaralište*. If I didn't feel happy here, I wouldn't have continued to come back for the last fifteen years. A man likes to be among his own kind. We help each other if necessary. We have fun and leisure time together."¹⁴⁴ Dragan Stojić, a driver from Donji Miholjac in Slavonia, encouraged everyone "who had the opportunity to go to the holiday centers and see for themselves how important holidays are for their health."¹⁴⁵ Ordinary citizens across

¹⁴¹ See Šarić and Torer (1962); S.E. (1963).

¹⁴² "Solidarnost ih je dovela prvi put na more," *RN*, 23 November 1973.

¹⁴³ "Bez odmarališta ne vidjesmo mora," *RN*, 10 August 1981.

¹⁴⁴ "Sukošan—centar radničkih odmarališta," *RN*, 21 August 1978.

¹⁴⁵ "Ljeto, odmori, turizam: Sunce i more za radost," *RN*, August 8, 1977.

Yugoslavia began to practice tourism, and many of them realized their holiday entitlements and desires within the framework of the workers' centers. Some did so because they really enjoyed it, others because it was the only possibility to participate in the good life, which could no longer be imagined without summer holidays on the Adriatic coast. After all, the *odmarališta* were created in their interest and fulfilled their mission as long as there was comradeship, the sea, and the sun, a comfortable bed, and three decent meals a day.

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From Comrades to Consumers

Holidays, Leisure Time, and Ideology in Communist Yugoslavia

Rory Yeomans

What to read on holiday? This was a question faced by many young holiday makers in Croatia in the summer of 1958. One publishing company aimed to provide all the entertainment and reading materials a young person could need in its annual holiday magazine. Among the typical puzzles, interesting information about the planets and space travel, and what life would be like in the year 2000, it also contained useful advice for its young tourists. Below a comic strip which told the story of espionage in the art world, the editors of the journal had provided their young readers with helpful hints on how to survive the camping experience. Some of this advice was of the kind that would have been typical for any young holiday maker in any part of the world: before you set out, plan your journey; make sure you have all the equipment you need for the camping expedition; ensure you have remembered to take all the medicines you need and have planned for any eventuality. Nonetheless, some of the advice contained in these pages hinted at a more tightly-controlled society: “Don’t forget to buy books and writing materials for the writing down of your impressions in your diary!” cautioned the magazine, and it also commanded its readers to “agree a precise time for a meeting in the camp with comrades from other cities and towns!”¹

The front cover of the magazine showed a cartoon of young children in bright colors enjoying all the healthy pleasures the camping experience was said to bring. Yet the two stories included in the magazine for the summer of 1958 were anything but sunny. The first, by Danko Oblak, told the story of two young children, a brother and sis-

¹ This advice was displayed as a byline at the bottom of the cartoon strip “Falsifikatori” in *Putovanje, camping, odmor*, pp. 19–30.

ter, who are unsettled by an unsmiling and staring old man who lives across the street from them. It is only at the end of the story that they learn how the traumas of the war have affected him. His housekeeper tells them how he lost both his legs in the war, is confined to a wheelchair, and can only raise his hands with difficulty. Owing to his injuries, it is also difficult for him to smile and, since his beloved Partisan son enrolled at the military academy, he is only really happy when he receives a letter home. Nevertheless, the story has an uplifting ending. The siblings meet the old man and hold his hand and the next day he waves to them, smiling from his window. The second, by Slavko Bjažić, told the story of Jure, a brave Partisan commander, who perishes bloodily fighting a desperate single-handed struggle against the Nazi occupier on the Croatian coast.²

For the Yugoslav regime, the dilemma of what to read on holiday was far from being simply a matter of individual taste. In fact, questions about leisure and vacationing were profoundly ideological, with the different kinds of reading material featured in this children's holiday magazine accurately reflecting the two faces of leisure time and vacationing in communist Yugoslavia. On the one hand, the Yugoslav government wanted to give workers, peasants, and the emerging middle-classes a well-deserved break from the rigors of post-war life. On the other hand, until the beginning of the 1960s, the Yugoslav government was committed to the creation of a new person who would have a strong socialist and Yugoslav consciousness, free of all ethnic enmity. At the time these stories were published, thirteen years after the end of the Second World War, memories of the occupation were still strong and emotions raw. It was in the shadow of genocide and the Holocaust that the communist-led resistance had been born. In the immediate post-war era the communist government attempted to imbue the masses with a national and ideological consciousness that would expunge the memory of the fratricidal conflicts of the past four years. In the People's Republic of Croatia, the authorities faced formidable challenges in healing the divisions between Croats and the native Serb population, given the wartime persecution of the Serbs at the hands of the Croatian Ustasha regime. Nonetheless, the communist authorities

² Obluk (1958, pp. 3–5, 31) and Bjažić (1958, pp. 34–7).

believed that tourism in Croatia could be used to facilitate reconciliation between the communities and create a common identity. How this idea evolved in Croatia and why it was ultimately unsuccessful helps to explain why it failed in the wider Yugoslav context following the collapse of communism.

From the inception of the Yugoslav state in 1945, its political leaders and cultural commissars understood something which has only recently been realized by western scholars: the social, ideological, and political importance of tourism. Decades before western writers began to produce studies challenging the frivolous image of tourism as a “residual category devoid of political significance and entailing fringe economic activities of a candyfloss and (ironically) Mickey Mouse kind,” Yugoslavia, like other communist regimes in Eastern Europe, was taking its values seriously.³ And long before scholars had decided that tourism was not just “an aggregate of merely commercial activities” but also an “ideological framing of history, nature and tradition,” which helped to understand “just what is happening in the ‘normal’ society,” the Yugoslav regime was using tourism and leisure in an attempt to construct consciousness, legitimize ideology, and shape everyday life and attitudes.⁴

In communist Yugoslavia, tourism and leisure and wider political, social, and cultural currents were integrally linked. In conventional histories, the former Yugoslavia is portrayed as a state moving seamlessly and rapidly from Stalinism and socialist realism to consumerism and westernization in which ideology, except in the form of mobilizing slogans and official rhetoric, became increasingly unimportant. Nevertheless, the popular western image of Yugoslavia from the 1950s onwards as a different kind of communist country—a hybrid between the East and the West, socialism and capitalism—should be viewed with caution. True, Yugoslavia, following its brief experimentation with industrialization and collectivization, was more economically liberal, more open to the rest of the world, and more “western” than other Eastern bloc countries. But less stringent travel restrictions, a greater diversity of opinion, and an emergent consumer culture were also features of life

³ Walton (1997).

⁴ MacCannell (1992) and Urry (1990). Similar arguments are also made by Nash (1996) and Löfgren (1999).

in many east European states by the middle of the 1950s. This seems to have been lost on many western observers of the period: travel writers, in particular, were apt to propagate the myth of Yugoslavia as a uniquely liberal communist state, bridging the gap between the Stalinist oppression of the East and excessive capitalism of the West. To western eyes, the variety of its landscapes—its sun-drenched beaches, blue seas, and ancient picturesque ruins—as well as its handsome, friendly population, in contrast to the supposed drab uniformity of the Soviet bloc, were emblematic of its relative freedoms and quixotic ideological innovations.⁵

They exaggerated the differences, however. Not only were such sights and pleasures available in many of the other more orthodox communist countries of Eastern Europe, but Yugoslavs were not nearly as amenable to free-market style consumerism as foreign observers believed. While ordinary citizens would invariably opt for “western” values in terms of culture and standards of living, at the same time, their version of the good life meant the repudiation of western concepts about market forces and social differentiation. By resisting western-style economic and political reforms, Yugoslavia’s synthesis of East and West produced a paradoxical kind of thinking in which “the most consumer-oriented of the socialist states also saw the most lively critique of consumerism.”⁶ The history of tourism in Yugoslavia in the post-war era mirrored these contradictory responses. In the period immediately after the Second World War, there was a short-lived utopian experiment with tourism as a vehicle of national and political ideology to create a new Yugoslav socialist citizen. This was quickly abandoned and tourism was thereafter used by the government as a means of bringing a taste of the good life to the ordinary citizen, legitimating it in the eyes of the population. The idea of tourism as pleasure would also, it was hoped, attract foreign tourists and bring much-needed hard currency into the country. Yet the commercialization of tourism and holiday-making also aggravated tensions, revealing a degree of hostility to the very consumer society on which Yugoslavia’s economic prosperity was founded. In the late 1960s, in an atmosphere

⁵ See, for example, Sidgwick (1954, esp. pp. 68–76); Welsman (1954, esp. pp. 11–13).

⁶ Bracewell (2006).

of political and national turmoil, the idea of tourism as ideology returned, albeit in a limited form. Nonetheless, like the Yugoslav state whose evolution it both mirrored and helped to shape, its appeal was never likely to be anything other than transitory.

The Promise of a Better Life?

The Evolution of the Tourist Industry in Communist Yugoslavia

The transformative and ideological aims of holiday making and leisure were evident from the beginning. The years between 1945 and 1950 coincided with a campaign of industrialization and collectivization inspired by the successes of similar programs in the Soviet Union. From 1946 onwards the republican authorities in Croatia, as elsewhere in Yugoslavia, began the construction of holiday resorts for working people, including peasants, the urban proletariat, and educated professionals. Through their holiday resorts—*odmaralište* and *ljetovalište*—the Partisans aimed to bring different citizens from different national groups, different professions, and different backgrounds together in a resort in which they could relax and rest but in which they would also receive exercise and political instruction. Under the slogan “The Mass Production of Tourism,” state businesses such as the state travel company Putnik worked with trade unions and workers’ organizations to transport huge numbers of workers to these resorts. The chief executive of the company in Rijeka reported that the beauty of Opatija had delighted those workers “of the new Yugoslavia who are advancing towards socialism with firm strides.”⁷ Yet these *ljetovalište* and *odmaralište* were not the only means by which the Yugoslav authorities aimed to refashion its citizens and nationality and class were not the only fissures which the Communist Party aimed to heal. Cultural divides were also to be addressed through leisure time and holiday making. In 1948, for example, the franchises of Putnik in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana, under the slogan “Village-City,” organized vacations in the city

⁷ “Referat o radu u protekloj sezoni održat na sastanku u povjereništvu za turizam u Opatiji dne 11. 0. mj,” 11 October 1948, Hrvatski državni arhiv (HDA), Ministarstvo trgovine i opskrbe (MTO), Narodne Republike Hrvatske (NRH), fond Ministarstva turizma i ugostiteljstva, kutija 9, s. 5.

for peasant groups, the aim of which was to “get to know this land of ours and to promote tourism among those classes of the workers who until now have not been involved in this branch of our national economy.” As a result of visiting one of the best known and naturally beautiful parts of the homeland, the peasants had returned to their villages refreshed.⁸

In the immediate post-war period, while Yugoslavia sought to attract tourists from Western Europe, the majority of visitors and tourists to Yugoslavia tended to come from fraternal countries in Eastern Europe. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that communist and Yugoslav ideology was used in the campaign to market Yugoslavia as an ideal holiday destination for the discerning socialist tourist. In a plan for tourist propaganda developed by the Tourist and Hotel Department for the Ministry of Tourism of the People’s Republic of Croatia in 1949, for example, the authors recommended that alongside the preparation of books in the English and French languages, they should also be prepared in Russian. The plan suggested that illustrations for this book should include photographs showing not only the beauty of the homeland, but also “important moments from the National Liberation Struggle,” and “life in the workers’ colonies.” Meanwhile, the introduction should sketch the success of tourism in the new Yugoslavia as well as “the importance of new tourism in socialist construction.”⁹

Irrespective of the way in which state ideology changed after 1948, the transformative impulse in leisure lasted in some form until at least the middle of the 1950s. Speaking at a conference for the Tourist Alliance of Croatia in Rijeka in 1953, its president Marin Cetinić set out the defining aims of the tourist industry in Croatia as overwhelmingly social and ideological. In his view, tourism in its development was inextricably linked with “the rise in social standards in our homeland in their entirety” in the same way that industrialization and electrification also led to a rise in the basic standard of living.¹⁰ Another delegate, Vinko Antić, argued that although the aim of placing social issues at the heart

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ “Plan rada Propagande za 1949 godinu,” HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Uprave za turizam i ugostiteljstvo, kutija 1, s. 1. Undated but probably early 1949.

¹⁰ Cetinić (1955, p. 3).

of the tourist industry still had a long way to go, the benefits were clear for all to see, above all in the social and cultural cohesion of Yugoslavia. In addition to the socio-economic benefits which the expansion of tourism had brought to the region, "it has helped in the progress of this region, allowing people to get to know this region, strengthening brotherhood and unity and the development of Yugoslavian socialist patriotism and benefiting the renewal of health and the raising of cultural horizons." For him, the development of tourism in this region was a political-national necessity inextricably linked to the National Liberation Struggle. On the tenth anniversary of the liberation of the region from Nazi occupation, he pointed out, the Tourist Alliance had the opportunity to increase the number of visitors coming to holiday in the region. Offering people the opportunity to get to know Rijeka would not just benefit the tourist economy but also "the national needs of our socialist community." An exhibition showing the contribution the region had made to the liberation of the country would make an excellent form of tourist promotion for the region, he believed.¹¹

Of course, the development of the tourist industry was of no use unless it enabled the masses to enjoy the privileges of spending a week somewhere relaxing and sunny. According to Cetinić, the development of mass tourism should be at the heart of state tourism policies. Tourism could be encouraged in large towns and industrial centers with the construction of large picnic and excursion sites and the conversion of public buildings. Nonetheless, it was also imperative that the aims of tourism were better understood. Cetinić complained that regions often justified their inaction in the development of mass tourism with the explanation that there was no money available, but it was the wrong approach to see tourism as a purely commercial exchange or a privilege for a rarefied elite. Only by understanding tourism as "an integral part of the organization of work, part of a social and cultural requirement" would the development of mass tourism be achieved.¹²

Mass tourism did not mean idle loafing, however, and Cetinić argued that holidays should be as much about education and activity as pleasure and relaxation. He envisaged vacations filled with meaningful excursions. These would be organized by tourist societies in co-opera-

¹¹ Antić (1955, pp. 39–42).

¹² Cetinić (1956, pp. 2–4).

tion with mass organizations. The point of these excursions would be to foster a sense of solidarity and unity, allowing working people to learn about the holiday region and in particular “its cultural-historical monuments, especially those from our national revolution, the achievements of our socialist homeland, its factories, its other new projects, and its overall construction.” One of the initiatives he recommended was the protection of monuments dating from the National Liberation Struggle, including the identification of significant local sites.¹³ The effectiveness of these kinds of proposals is open to debate. Statistics from 1959 showed that only 47 percent of workers had holidays outside of their home region, compared with 56 percent of professional families. Travelling far from home to spend the holiday in Yugoslavia, even in 1960, remained in effect, as the journalist Šćepan Matijašević pointed out, the preserve of the affluent professional classes.¹⁴ This had national-ideological as well as socio-economic implications, since the fact that most workers were choosing to spend their holidays in republics they permanently resided in stubbornly contradicted Cetinić and the regime’s vision of a tourism industry founded on the principles of class solidarity and national unity.

The development of tourist destinations that ordinary citizens actually wanted to visit was not the only problem. Despite the fact that between 1945 and 1950 departments for tourism and catering were established in every republic of Yugoslavia with the aim of attracting foreign tourists,¹⁵ the country was woefully unprepared for the arrival of tourists, either from the East or the West in terms of both facilities and trained personnel. A series of inspections of local hotels and restaurants carried out in the January of 1948 in Zagreb, for example, found that the standards of hygiene and presentation were deplorably low in many establishments. In one establishment there were “traces of bed-bugs, the floors soiled, and dirty rooms” with sheets not being changed after guests had left and guests forced to share a bathroom with the lavatory situated on a table. In the kitchen, meanwhile, as well as the dust, dark, and clutter of the kitchen, a “wooden basket was situated at

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ J.N. (1960, pp. 13–5); Matijašević (1960, pp. 13–6).

¹⁵ “Plan rada Propagande za 1949 godinu,” HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Uprave za turizam i ugostiteljstvo, kutija 1, s. 1.

the edge of the kitchen filled with numerous plates with leftover food which had not been covered up, behind which was to be found twenty kilograms of fresh pork which had been walked over by cats, rats, and other vermin.” The report also noted a blocked drain located behind the meat. In another guest house, meanwhile, an inspection found that the door to the building was located in a courtyard strewn with rubbish and the toilet on the ground floor was unventilated, damp and completely unsuitable for guests. The walls in the bedrooms were damp and in a poor condition and the mattresses were “filthy, not disinfected, and in a terrible state.” More serious than the grubby appearance of the rooms was the danger of death which the guest house posed, with the report warning that “electrical appliances are insufficiently secured and present a deadly danger to guests.”¹⁶ Of course, some establishments were commended for their high standards of hygiene and cleanliness, being well presented and offering good value for money, but this appeared to be the exception rather than the rule. Staying at a guest house in Zagreb in the 1940s appeared to mean taking not only your health but your life in your own hands.¹⁷

The People’s Republic of Croatia was also faced with tourist challenges which went far beyond an unfamiliar acquaintance with hygiene, however, and many of those working in the tourist industry appeared not only to lack a socialist consciousness, but any kind of consciousness at all. Bootlegging, preferential treatment, and poor service characterized many of the hotels, bars, and restaurants in Croatia in the period directly after the end of the Second World War. Tomo Dijanović, the head of the Tourism and Hotel Department, was obliged to send a circular in February 1947 to all hotels and guest houses in tourist destinations in the Republic, reminding them that tobacco goods should

¹⁶ See, for example, “Zapisnik sastavljen 12.1. u konačištu ‘Sinjska alka’, Tomislavov trg 18,” 12 January 1948; HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Uprave za turizam i ugostiteljstvo, kutija 6, b.b. s. 1–2; “Zapisnik od 12. 1. 1948. sastavljen kod pregleda Konačišta ‘Kanada’, Trg. Kralja Tomislava 19.vl. Stjepan Juričić,” 12 January 1948, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Uprave za turizam i ugostiteljstvo, kutija 6, b.b. s. 1–2.

¹⁷ See, for example, “Zapisnik sastavljen 12.1.1949 u svratištu ‘Paromlin’, Paromlinska c.12,” 12 January 1949, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Uprave za turizam i ugostiteljstvo, kutija 6, b.b. s. 1.

be sold at the designated state price and under no circumstances at a cheaper price in exchange for tips. The Tourist Department's own investigations, he pointed out, had discovered that some tobacco shops in hotels and restaurants were saving the best kinds of cigarettes for their "better" customers and informing other guests they didn't have any. Waiters in local hotels and restaurants were involved in this scam. The report pointed out that as well as being illegal, a socialist tourist industry simply could not "tolerate any differentiation in the treatment of guests." Every guest, he asserted testily, had the right to cigarettes.¹⁸ According to a report by the chief of the Putnik travel company in Rijeka, this attitude was endemic in hotel employees' interaction with their guests, conducting themselves in an "unhealthy" manner which needed to be eradicated from the socialist sector. Many of the hotel staff did not seem to understand the concept of mass socialist tourism and persisted in treating the hotel guests in a blatantly partial way, with porters behaving disrespectfully towards members of trade unions, giving priority to individuals from whom they expected tips, ignoring the reservations made by the travel company and "even going so far as to make irresponsible criticisms of a state company to whom designated rooms had been assured." In the opinion of the writer, the coming tourist season would only be a success if "we pay more attention to the raising of the political consciousness of our workers."¹⁹

From the beginning, government departments recognized that there was a problem with a lack of trained and ideologically-conscious personnel. To address this, the Ministry for Industry and Equipment within the Department for Tourism devised a series of courses to train and educate hotel staff. There were numerous difficulties in the holding of these courses, not least of which was local resistance on both the administrative and individual level. One of the main obstacles was the attitude of the Regional People's Committees which had frequently not joined the "mobilization of youth" and had not sent the requested

¹⁸ "Okružnica svim ugostiteljskim objektima i hotel. poduzećima pod 'Upravnom za hotelska poduzeća'," 15 February 1947, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Uprave za turizam i ugostiteljstvo, kutija 2, br. 93, s. 1.

¹⁹ "Referat o radu u protekloj sezoni održat na sastanku u povjereništvu za turizam u Opatiji dne 11. 0. mj," 11 October 1948, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva turizma i ugostiteljstva, kutija 9, s. 1-6.

number of course participants “despite our reports and urgency.”²⁰ This obstruction was not simple obstinacy; it reflected a significant level of resistance from families to young people enlisting on these training courses. Government officials blamed this resistance on the primitive attitudes of an older generation among whom not enough work had been done to destroy the “old mistaken [negative] view of the profession of cook and waiter.” For many parents who associated working in a hotel or restaurant with seasonal work, the anxiety about what would happen when winter arrived and work dried up was too much of a risk, especially in the economically-precarious post-war years. But there was another more fundamental reason for the lack of parental enthusiasm. Between 1945 and 1946, large numbers of youths had been taken away permanently to work in the labor battalions tasked with the reconstruction of Yugoslavia. Parents who had already given up some of their children routinely took to hiding their remaining offspring lest they too be taken away. Parents, especially in the countryside, were fearful that this would happen, too, in the case of tourism courses and they would never see their children again.²¹ Despite these concerns, by the time this report had been written, a number of courses had already been held in Split, Hrvr, Dubrovnik, and Opatija with the aim of engaging “new young people who introduce a new socialist spirit into our tourism.”²² This thinking was reflected in the content of these courses. As well as learning about basic hygiene, how to present wine to customers, and how to write receipts and inventories, trainees were also required to know the intricacies of the Yugoslav socialist economic system, the shortcomings of capitalist economics, and the thoughts of Vladimir Lenin and Josef Stalin on socialist competition.²³

²⁰ “Analiza i problemi rada u toku 1948. godine,” 30 November 1948, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Uprave za turizam i ugostiteljstvo, kutija 6, s. 1.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid, s. 2.

²³ “Privredni sistem FNRJ: 30 časova,” 27 February 1948, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Uprave za turizam i ugostiteljstvo, kutija 6, s. 1–4.

Holidays on Command: Summer Resorts and Socialist Leisure

According to the draft law for the creation of state summer camps and holiday resorts of 1946, *ljetovalište* served “the rest, recuperation, and physical strengthening of children and young people, knowledge of the land, development of the understanding of life in the collective, its comradeship” as well as “cultural-hygienic rules.” Open from the beginning of July until the end of August, they were designed for the education of “healthy children and youths.” However, this definition also grew to include “malnourished, anemic, and sickly” children and, as a consequence, the *ljetovalište* developed a special program for youths based on “nourishing food and medical supervision as well as the best lodgings and hygienic conditions.”²⁴ At the same time, the government established workers’ summer camps and resorts, the *odmaralište*, which had similar ideological and cultural aims: pleasure and political education.

The first meeting to discuss the progress of *odmaralište* and *ljetovalište* in the People’s Republic of Croatia was held in July 1947. The findings from this first meeting were not very encouraging. According to Hinko Krizman, the Minister for Social Care, in the first year of their existence, children’s summer camps had been “unorganized” and “rough and ready.” Another of those present at the meeting, Dr Kamilo Bresler, also from the Ministry for Social Care, pointed out, however, the benefit the camps had brought to underprivileged children, with approximately forty thousand children and youths spending their summer in camps at the sea on the Adriatic Coast. As far as he was concerned, no matter the problems *ljetovalište* had experienced, they had “enabled thousands of our children for the first time to see and experience our seas and it is thus even more to be regretted that in the majority of cases [the camps] had developed in such an unorganized manner.”²⁵

²⁴ “Nacrt uredbe o ljetovalištima, odmaralištima i logorovanjima,” HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 175, s. 1–6. Undated but probably 1947.

²⁵ “Zapisnik prve konferencije održane u Ministarstvu socijalnog staranja dne 27. IX. 1947 po predmetu osnivanja Zemaljskog odbora za ljetovanje djece i omladine,” 27 November 1947, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 175, s. 1–2.

Among the examples of unorganized behavior which Bresler cited included the fact that only 40 percent of *ljetovalište* had satisfactory standards of hygiene; there were only seven thousand beds and many children had been forced to sleep on straw on the floor. Moreover, in many cases, the food which had been provided did not contain a sufficient calorific value and was not of an acceptable standard. Venues were also frequently unsatisfactory. In some regions, the local authorities had decided to locate summer camps in school buildings which had not only interrupted the education of local school children, but had also led to significant damage to some properties by undisciplined youths. Bresler's critical assessment of the operating of the summer camps also revealed, however, that even in 1947 tension was developing between the desire of the Communist Party to use leisure and holidays for ideological purposes and the economic pressure to promote commercial tourism. Bresler, for one, criticized the decision to establish *ljetovalište* in the middle of tourist regions. It simply was not acceptable for youths to bathe on the same beaches "where international tourism is being developed." Numerous other problems associated with the standard of care and education in the camps was also highlighted by Bresler.²⁶

The second meeting in 1948 similarly exposed the ideological and social tensions inherent in a society still traumatized by the war experience. Ivan Svaić, representing the Countrywide Committee for War Invalids, announced that the Committee sought the establishment not of more *ljetovalište* but convalescence homes (*oporavalište*), institutions where war invalids could recuperate the whole year and not just for two months in the summer. Svaić told the meeting—which included Joža Vukelić, the representative of the National Council of National Youth—that his veterans' organization had no interest in discussing children's summer camps when war heroes who had sacrificed their lives and health for the liberation of the nation had nowhere to recuperate.²⁷

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ "Zapisnik druge konferencije Zemaljskog odbora za ljetovanje djece i omladine održane u Ministarstvu socijalnog staranja dne 5. XI. 1948," 5 November 1948, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 175, s. 5.

Unsurprisingly, little of this bitter disputation emerged in the official propaganda for workers' summer resorts and children's summer camps. Official brochures produced to promote workers' *odmaralište*, for instance, portrayed an image of brotherhood and relaxation. They were interpreted as a monumental achievement of socialism, which together with the introduction of a week's annual paid holiday, demonstrated that the Yugoslav worker was entering a new era. Brochures boasted of the abundance of facilities on offer for workers. In addition to all the health and relaxation benefits of holidaying at the coast, recreational and cultural facilities brought a touch of sophistication to the masses. Now ordinary workers could experience the pleasures and entertainments of the big city. As well, as radios, and libraries stocked with journals and daily newspapers, trade unions organized visits from artists, opera and theatre companies, ballets, ensembles, radio singers, and musicians. Sport and exercise were also available and residents of the resorts could use a range of sporting and leisure equipment; table tennis, basketball, bowls, tennis, and boats for rowing and sailing were just some of the activities on offer. Some *odmaralište* even had their own film-making apparatus.²⁸

These truly were fitting resorts for the workers who had liberated and constructed the new Yugoslavia. Although it had been only five years since the liberation of the Yugoslav homeland, one brochure of 1950 proclaimed, in place of a gilded bourgeoisie who "lived from the labor of the working classes and spent their holidays in pleasure resorts," now holiday destinations provided recuperation for the thousands of workers, white collar employees, and peasants who were implementing Tito's five-year plan. For the propagandists of these new holiday resorts, their existence was not merely incidental, a frivolous sideshow to the more important task of building socialism: in fact they were the whole point of that construction, offering workers a taste of the good life which their labors in the building of a socialist society deserved. The creation of a socialist leisure class was evidence of how socialism had given the worker a taste of a better life.²⁹

²⁸ *Domovi odmora* (1950, pp. 1, 2, 5).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8–11.

The *Ljetovalište* on the Riviera: A Case Study in Tourism as Ideology

In the formative years of socialist Yugoslavia, ideology seeped into every area of public and private life and tourism and leisure was no exception. The administration and leadership of children's summer camps vividly demonstrated the importance which the Communist Party placed on the political education of the young and the ideological fervor of the times. Internal reports about the administration and activities of two such summer camps, one in Zaoštrog on the Makarska Riviera in southern Croatia and another on the Island of Murter on the Adriatic Coast, give some idea of why the *ljetovališta* ultimately did not succeed in creating a new cadre of ideologically-committed communists. It also helps to explain why the government largely abandoned utilizing tourism and leisure as an instrument of socialist indoctrination and national reconciliation in favor of offering ordinary citizens a non-ideological taste of the luxury and good life supposedly enjoyed in the West.

In August 1949 a commission established to ascertain the performance of local children's summer camps held a meeting attended by the former administrative head of the *ljetovališta* in Zaoštrog, the current administrator and the head chef. The meeting was tempestuous and accusatory. According to the conclusions reached by the commission, the ideological and educational benefits of the camp were practically non-existent, noting that "the educational condition of youths is appalling, so much so that youths are smoking, and are going at midnight into private gardens and smoking under their fig trees". The behavior of some of the staff hardly set a good example and the report identified the indolent and scandalous conduct of teachers, who were more interested in pursuing illicit affairs than taking charge of the students, as one source of the problem. More seriously still, even the most basic administrative tasks had not been completed satisfactorily: for example, the report from the commission noted that there was no record of the amount of food each child and youth at the camp was getting each day, despite the fact that this was stipulated by law.³⁰

³⁰ "Zapisnik o izvršenoj kontroli u odmaralištu u Zaoštrogu," 2 July 1949; HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, s. 1; "Zapisnik dana 2.VII.1949 godine u kancelariji Uprave Odmarališta Zaoštrog," 2 July 1949, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, s. 1.

The record of this meeting exposes the chaos of the summer camp. The chef, Gučić, complained that despite being “politically reliable,” he was not shown any respect by the administration. While Petar Petrović, the former administrator, pointed out that all the members of the staff needed to act in a comradely way towards each other, the response of Stjepan Vec, the current administrator, was less diplomatic. Gučić was sleeping while he was meant to be preparing the evening meal for the students, and his lying and incompetence had resulted in youths in the camp going hungry on occasions. Most inflammatory of all, he hinted that Gučić was not the National Hero he claimed to be and had instead been a supporter of the hated wartime Ustasha regime.³¹ Frane Skarić, a medical student who was working as a volunteer in the camp, had his own complaints. He wanted to warn colleagues from the Ministry of Labor of the “unacceptable situation” that existed in Zaoštrog. These camps should offer young people an enjoyable holiday, but this was evidently not the case. “I have witnessed cases where young people have run away from the camp and this indeed should not be happening,” he concluded, in sentiments that everyone, for the first time, could agree with.³²

The regime in these youth holiday camps was strict and some youth leaders appear to have been determined to run them on semi-military lines. Peco Andonovski, the administrator of the summer camp in Murter, meanwhile, felt compelled to admonish camp instructors that they should avoid a system of military leadership and should remember that the *ljetovališta* was a holiday resort, not a military camp. “Instead of the expression ‘camp’, use the expression ‘holiday resort’ and do not read out daily commands,” he advised.³³ For all this, great stress was placed on discipline, order, and ideological education. Excursions were never simply casual visits, but were viewed by youth leaders as an educational opportunity to allow camp attendees to become acquainted with the lives of the peasants and to understand the social and economic importance of the village. Youth instructors ensured

³¹ “Zapisnik o izvršenoj kontroli u odmaralištu u Zaoštrogu,” 3.

³² Ibid.

³³ “Zapisnik sastanka pedagoškog aktiva odmarališta uč. u privredi u Murteru,” HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, s. 3. Undated but probably 1949.

their charges visited historically significant sites from the National Liberation Struggle to strengthen their burgeoning socialist consciousness. Competitions and games were also subject to ideological control and the administrator of the camp in Murter stipulated in his instructions to staff that they encourage competitions which bred comradeship as well as hygiene.³⁴ Leisure-time reading reinforced the political aims of the camp: the library at Zaoštrog included among its inventory the collected speeches of Tito, anthologies of Young Pioneer poems, the collected works of Karl Marx, and the thoughts of Comrade Lenin and Stalin on youth and their role in society.³⁵

The schedule at the Zaoštrog summer camp was also tightly controlled. The day began at seven with an hour for tidying rooms and eating breakfast. This was to be followed at eight by lectures and talks and between ten and midday children swam and bathed. Lunch was served between midday and two in the afternoon and was then followed by another session of swimming and bathing which went on until six. Dinner was between six and eight in the evening, followed by two hours of free time, and then bed at ten.³⁶ The pervasiveness of social control should not be exaggerated, though. For all the perceived harshness of the camps, the administration placed the welfare of its mostly poor and undernourished youth at its center. At Murter, while the regulations stipulated that teachers should always be present while children were swimming in the pool, this was less an instrument of control than a safety precaution designed to ensure that youths did not wander away from the swimming pool to the adjacent private beach where they could be carried away by the waves or wolves that lived in the mountains. As the administrator reminded the youth leaders, they were duty-bound to care for each and every child. Similar motivations informed the concerns of the administrator regarding the compulsory afternoon naps. Predicting that there could be a rebellion by some youths, since working-class children who were used to working eight hours a day had not been taught to take a nap in the afternoon, he advised

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "Popis knjiga u odmaralištu učenika u privredi," HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, s. 2–4. Undated but probably 1949.

³⁶ "Zapisnik sastanka pedagoškog aktiva odmarališta uč. u privredi u Murteru," s. 3.

teachers to “impress on youths the health benefits of an afternoon rest.”³⁷ The health and physical fitness of youth was also paramount and they were to leave as “positive and vibrant” examples of the working youth of the new Yugoslavia. As well as physical fitness classes to build up the strength of the youth, medical students from the University of Zagreb were paid by the Ministry of Labor to spend part of their summer keeping the youths healthy. In June 1948, for example, Miše Jokanović was paid 1000 dinars by the Ministry to spend his summer working at Zaoštrog. His fellow student Frane Škarić was paid a similar amount to work as a medical officer at the same summer camp.³⁸ At the same time, ideology still played an important role in the camp itinerary and leisure time, as much as structured activities, was to be characterized by politically and culturally-acceptable pastimes, including competitions as well as national and partisan dances.³⁹

Was the *ljetovališta* simply a holiday resort for working-class children or was it meant to be more than this? Those in charge of the children’s summer camps were not entirely sure themselves. According to the administrator at Murter, a holiday at the camp should be seen as a holiday for youth, yet his instructions were shot through with ambiguity. On the one hand, his instructions suggested that educational activities should not be arranged in the way they were at a normal school. On the other hand, since the *ljetovališta* was more than a holiday resort, youth leaders were expected to educate their charges. They were charged with enlightening their charges about socialist politics, economics, and events; encourage every child to read at least one daily Party newspaper and to lead them in the celebration of national and state holidays, explaining their significance. More than this, though, youth leaders were to provide education about the economic and social life of the

³⁷ “Zapisnik sa sastanka odgojitelja u odmaralištu učenika u privredi,” HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, b.b., s. 5. Undated but probably 1949.

³⁸ “Jokanović Miše, primitak u honorarnu službu,” HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, br. 29093/V/1949; “Škarić Frane, primitak u honorarnu službu,” HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, br. 28964/V/1949, both dated 17 June 1949.

³⁹ “Zapisnik sastanka pedagoškog aktiva odmarališta uč. u privredi u Murteru,” s. 4.

region and its inhabitants, and provide incentives for youths to participate in voluntary work in the construction of collective buildings in the community.⁴⁰

How this was received by the local population is open to dispute. Certainly, not all spontaneous involvement in the community was so welcome. In 1945, the Yugoslav Communist Party, viewed with hostility by the Catholic Church for its atheism and Marxism, had come to power. The Communist Party reciprocated this distrust, confiscating Church property as punishment for the alleged collaboration of the Church hierarchy with the fascist Ustasha regime. This hostility culminated in 1946 with the trial of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac for war crimes, an outpouring of state-sanctioned anti-Catholic agitprop and the instigation of a sweeping anti-religious campaign. In a society in which symbols had been traditionally instrumentalized for political legitimacy and the shaping of public perception, there was a struggle for the supremacy of symbols between the red star and the crucifix in the Croatian countryside, even if the two had often appeared alongside each other at partisan rallies. Party youth played a leading role in the anti-religious campaign of the late 1940s and this political fanaticism was likely to have been shared by some of the youths who attended summer camps. Perhaps not entirely coincidentally, in 1949, there were a series of attacks on the property of the local Franciscan monastery in Zaostrog.

In a letter to the head of the summer camp in July 1949, the guardian of Saint Mary's Friary, Brother Bernardo Tičić, complained about an act of vandalism which he believed had been carried out by *ljetovališta* youths. They had not only placed a red star on a religious statue, but, according to him, they "sacrilegiously smashed the statue of our Lady of Lourdes which lay in pieces on the floor and removed the stone crucifix above the entrance to the friary and threw it into the sea." Although the former director of the *ljetovališta* had denied all responsibility, it had been confirmed by a commission formed by the regional People's Committee, he continued. Although the crucifix was subsequently pulled from the sea by local youths and promptly returned, the following day Brother Tičić reported that the place where the cru-

⁴⁰ "Odmaralište učenika u privredi," 11 May 1949, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, b. 18280/1949, s. 2–3.

cifix usually stood had been replaced with a red star. Tičić had to be careful about the language he used and stressed his respect for the Communist Party symbol, but at the same time, as far as he was concerned, the friary, was no place for it. Furthermore, he was sure who was responsible: “I have no doubt that it was done by youths from the *ljetovališta* and I hold the administration culpable for this. It is, therefore, my duty as the head of the monastery to request that you take down the red star from the place where the crucifix used to hang and where it will be again in the near future.” He suggested that the entrance to the summer camp would be a more suitable location for it.⁴¹

Whether this militant anti-religious stance was officially encouraged or whether staying at a summer camp created a receptive environment for pre-existing anti-religious sentiments is not clear. Perhaps ideology played no role and it represented nothing more sinister than an excess of teenage high spirits. After all, two months prior to the incident, the Commissariat for Social Security and National Health in the regional People’s Committee in Makarska had written to the director of the camp about their concerns regarding the large numbers of children aged between seven and eighteen years of age who would be arriving that summer. However, in his letter Father Tičić had pointed out that the crucifix had been rescued by local (i.e., Croatian) youths. By contrast, the youths who stayed at the summer camp came from poor families from outside the region. Some of them, at least, must have been from Serb families directly affected by the Ustashas’ campaign of genocide, a campaign actively supported by radical young Franciscan friars sent into the countryside as “missionaries” to convert the heretic Serbs—under pain of death—to Catholicism. Therefore, vengeful emotions as well as youthful exuberance may have played a role. What can be said about this incident with some certainty is that the ideological instrumentalism of tourism and leisure, irrespective of its aim to achieve national reconciliation and a common socialist consciousness, resulted in division and contestation, too.⁴²

⁴¹ Fra. Bernardo Tičić, Letter to the director of the youth summer camp in Zaoštrog, 6 July 1949, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, s. 1.

⁴² “Izvještaj o dolasku djece na ljetovanje u Zaoštrog,” 14 May 1949, HDA, MTO, NRH, fond Ministarstva rada, kutija 177, b. 3921/49, s. 1–2.

Foreigners with Full Wallets: Public Opinion and Tourism in Yugoslavia in the 1950s and 1960s

In the 1950s, in spite of the fact that nearly a quarter of Yugoslavs were vacationing at state resorts, private rooms in houses were also increasingly being hired out.⁴³ In contrast to the previous decade, relatively few workers took advantage of their own state company holiday camps, irrespective of the fact that all members of workers' collectives were required to pay for their maintenance. In fact, many of these workers' resorts were used by foreign tourists and no one else.⁴⁴ To some extent this reflected the fact that the leisure tastes as well as the aspirations of ordinary Yugoslavs were changing; at the same time, however, it was also indicative of the fact that Yugoslav tourism was increasingly targeting visitors from affluent western countries rather than from eastern European socialist ones. The emergence of a nascent consumer culture, as well as greater opportunities for Yugoslavs themselves to enjoy foreign travel, almost guaranteed that the future of tourism in Yugoslavia would be a commercialized one. In such a climate the state-run holiday resort was only likely to have limited appeal.⁴⁵ By the beginning of the 1960s tourism experts took it for granted that Yugoslavia would be marketed as a more affordable rival of fashionable continental destinations. The emphasis of the advertising campaigns was on sun, sea, youth, modernity, and good times. Of course, advertisers provided other inducements to holiday in Yugoslavia—the same modern sunny images were employed to promote the magnificent monasteries of Serbia and Kosovo—but the main emphasis of the tourist industry was on the promotion of the Adriatic Coast and the values and experiences associated with staying at the coast.⁴⁶

⁴³ "Stanje i problemi radničkoslužbenih odmarališta," *Turizam* 9/7–8 (1961), pp. 5–8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Ensminger (1959, pp. 16–9).

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the advertising approaches of the Yugoslav tourist industry in this period, see, for example, Vukanović (1968, esp. pp. 9–34).

From the beginning of the 1950s onwards, Yugoslavia embraced political and economic reforms which saw the abandonment of collectivism, mass industrialization, and unitary Yugoslavism. These fundamental changes were reflected in the cultural sphere, including tourism and leisure. As part of its identity as a socialist country outside the confines of the Soviet Bloc, but also as a country which was decidedly not part of the capitalist West either, Yugoslavia began to develop a socialist version of the consumer society. This change was not solely dictated by ideology; economic pressures also played a part. In the immediate aftermath of the split with the Soviet Union, there were few tourists coming from the Eastern Bloc; therefore, there was a pressing need to attract tourists from the West. Their interests lay not in seeing a fellow socialist homeland, but in a few weeks of sun, sea, and comfort on the cheap.

The adoption of a western-style consumer society was driven by demography, too. As one leisure magazine pointed out in 1962, Yugoslavia had one of the youngest populations in Europe, with half the population below the age of thirty. This meant that many emerging consumers had little memory, knowledge, or even interest in the traumas of the Second World War.⁴⁷ The older generation might disapprove of the emerging youth culture—its obsession with aping the “trash” culture of America and disdain for the sacrifices made by parents and grandparents during the National Liberation Struggle—but they were powerless to do anything about it. It was no good the older generation repeating the same old stories about anti-Fascist heroism, as the writer Vojin Delić pointed out in an account of a journey through Yugoslavia. As the first generation to live in peace and prosperity, they desired consumer goods, the opportunity to travel, and a taste of the good life rather than political sermonizing. Even in remote regions of the country in which patriarchal peasant traditions dominated, modernization was coming.⁴⁸

The new cultural values of modernity, westernization, and the desire for a materially comfortable life were mirrored in the tourist industry. One obvious change was the way in which Yugoslavia was marketed

⁴⁷ A third of the population was below the age of fourteen. For the full statistical data see Gugić (1962, pp. 34, 36).

⁴⁸ Delić (1957, pp. 391–8).

as a holiday destination. In place of earnest pamphlets depicting how industrious Yugoslav workers spent their holidays in workers' colonies on the coast, the emphasis was now on how to market Yugoslavia as an exotic destination for rich western foreigners and celebrities. In advertisements for the Yugoslav tourist board, the Adriatic coast of Croatia was compared not only to the French Riviera and the Amalfi Coast, but also to Long Beach in California and the Copacabana. With its glittering nightclubs, frenetic bars, palm trees, beautiful people, and glamorous clientele—not to mention the endless miles of beaches—the Croatian Adriatic Coast was, as one magazine profile put it, “Florida in the land of wine and olive groves.”⁴⁹

Despite this, manifestations of the original ideological fervor of immediate post-war Yugoslavia lingered. Young people from around the world still came to Yugoslavia to help in the construction of railway lines, roads, and houses, even if the exploits of the mainly youthful volunteers by the 1960s were more commonly reported in lifestyle magazines rather than the Party press.⁵⁰ The promotion of western values in culture, art, and fashion certainly did not mean forgetting that Yugoslav consumers were also citizens of a socialist state forged in the struggle against Fascism. On the contrary, there was increasing disquiet about the consumer values of the new society, reflected in the ambiguous depictions of tourism in the popular press.

Resistance to mass consumerism in the 1960s emerged both from ordinary citizens dissatisfied with the rising cost of living and journalists and commentators who sought to expose, often through humor, the limits of consumer society and its more absurd contradictions. Some commentators questioned whether Yugoslavia should be aspiring to a western model at all. Did it actually make sense in Yugoslavia? Vojin Delić thought not. For him, in comparing their standard of living and lifestyle to the developed West, Yugoslavs were making a faulty comparison. In a society in which religious and national conflict, economic collapse, and genocide were still a living memory for a significant part of the population, Yugoslavia was simply too different to be compared to technologically-developed western countries like Sweden or

⁴⁹ See, for example, Saračević (1960, pp. 8–13).

⁵⁰ Habjanić (1962, pp. 4–6).

Switzerland. Its progress could only be measured against where it used to be and where it was heading.⁵¹

Ordinary citizens were also critical. In an attempt to attract moneyed foreign tourists, holiday resorts and accommodation became increasingly expensive and ultimately beyond the means of most Yugoslavs. What exactly was the point of the annual paid vacation if one couldn't actually afford to go anywhere? According to numerous newspaper articles on the subject, improvisation and making-do characterized many workers' holidays by the late 1950s: one common solution provided by trade unions for their workers involved either the adaptation of existing buildings or camping holidays. Such vacations did not require much preparation: a few things could just be thrown into the back of a car. Nor was much equipment needed to set up these kinds of camp sites: just a communal kitchen, washing and toilet facilities, and tents. Of course, a lot depended on the state of the toilet facilities and reports indicated that they were often less than satisfactory. Given the concern that some workers' organizations were expressing about the unhealthy nature of workers' excursions—particularly the fact that they were opting to spend their weekends away from home eating and drinking at guest houses—camping in natural surroundings appeared to be a healthier option. Still, it was hardly a taste of the good life which affluent foreign tourists seemed to be enjoying. As prices rose, the holiday experience for many ordinary citizens became one of adaptation and a vacation on the cheap, if at all.⁵²

The trend for makeshift camping holidays, a development which expanded rapidly from the mid 1950s onwards, provoked concern among tourism experts. As early as 1954, Dragutin Alfier was warning about the chaotic nature of camping in Yugoslavia which had emerged, he believed, as a response to the structural imbalances of the Yugoslav tourist industry, in which the wide availability of suitable camping venues on the Adriatic Coast was combined with a shortage of affordable accommodation during the holiday season. While Alfier welcomed the emergence of camping as a form of mass tourism which provided ordinary people with affordable holidays, it was invariably “disorganized, uncontrolled, and undisciplined,” with camp sites lack-

⁵¹ Delić (1957, pp. 397–8).

⁵² See, for example, M.C. (1957).

ing basic hygiene standards and established without regard to the communal needs of tourists. More seriously, it also threatened tourist destinations in Western Istria, which would not receive any economic benefits from the camping. In short, it was a “cheap and dangerous experiment” in the tourist industry, unregulated by socio-economic relationships.⁵³

It was not just the rise in domestic camping holidays which caught the attention of Yugoslav commentators. Paradoxically, given the comparative affluence they were thought to enjoy, Yugoslavs soon realized that camping was becoming increasingly popular among western visitors who, while they might have had fewer economic restrictions, were choosing to holiday on the cheap, putting up their tents wherever they fancied. Clearly, by opting for camping, they were also spending less money in the local economy, a fact that did not go unnoticed. In an early expression of veiled hostility to western tourists, and the tendency of Yugoslav tourism to adapt itself to the needs of foreigners at the expense of domestic vacationers, I. Strahonja, writing from Opatija in 1955, lambasted those tourists who were camping out in tents, buying the cheapest provisions and “pitching their tents along the coast of Istria and the Croatian Primorja without any order or control.”⁵⁴ Not only did they pay no tourist tax, they often caused damage to the countryside by chopping down trees and lighting fires. The fact that some tourists were also trading fish they had caught for other goods meant they were actually making money out of their holiday.

Contrary to popular opinion, which assumed that hotels, cafés, and restaurants were “full of foreigners,” most hotels still had plenty of rooms available throughout the holiday period and cafés were half full, he complained. Meanwhile, the fact that hotels in the region were patronized by foreign tourists artificially pushed prices out of the reach of ordinary Yugoslavs, especially since hotels tended to offer lower prices for foreign than for Yugoslav guests since they brought with them prized currencies. There were a large number of house owners who had rooms to rent but did not do so since they wanted to avoid paying the high tourist taxes. As a result, he argued, a means of increas-

⁵³ Alfier (1955, pp. 24–6). See also Smokvina (1955, pp. 100–1); A.D. (1954, pp. 23–5).

⁵⁴ Strahonja (1955, pp. 14–5).

ing the supply of affordable accommodation and assisting the struggling domestic hotel industry had been missed. This coupled with the reduced amount of money being spent by economizing tourists meant that the living standards of the local population were unlikely to be raised.⁵⁵

By the 1960s, the price of many holiday resorts had soared and there were regular complaints about their exorbitant cost by commentators in Yugoslav leisure magazines. The inflationary price rises were not only manifested on the popular Adriatic Coast, but also affected other tourist destinations such as the Plitvička jezera National Park with its stunning waterfalls. A reporter from a Zagreb magazine who visited the popular vacationing area found that the only hotel in the vicinity of the waterfalls was completely out of the price range of even the best-paid Yugoslav professionals; the only hotel within reach of the budget of an ordinary middle-class Yugoslav was not within walking distance of Plitvička jezera. As a result, many native holidaymakers were forced to rent rooms in people's houses.⁵⁶

Prices were not the only issue. In a series of articles in the summer of 1960, two undercover magazine journalists—one posing as a foreign tourist and one as a Yugoslav—exposed the disparity in service that could be expected in hotels, restaurants, bars, and even petrol stations. The results not only suggested that Yugoslav citizens were often treated as second class in their own country, but that for all the adoption of western values, the attitudes of many of those who worked in the tourist industry had not significantly evolved since the late 1940s.⁵⁷

What made matters worse was that many of the prized foreign tourists were not even particularly impressed by the preferential treatment they received. They complained about the cost of accommodation, food, and drink; the surliness of the waiters and barmen. There were cultural misunderstandings: one waiter refused to serve a foreign guest a carbonated mineral water, insisting that the guest drink something alcoholic instead. One American journalist confessed that he did not know exactly how he would be able to spend his dollars. Where

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Zlatar (1962, pp. 4–7).

⁵⁷ Leue (1960, pp. 12–5).

was the entertainment, the excursions, the reviews, he asked, adding that the previous year his wife had left after three days for Italy “because she could not show off the dress ordered specially in Rome here”? Apart from a few substandard nightclubs and bars there was really nothing to do in the evening.⁵⁸ For some tourists, on the other hand, the westernization of the Yugoslav resort had gone too far. One Parisian woman expressed disappointment at the lack of regional specialties on the menus of local restaurants. What was the point, she asked, in coming to the Adriatic Coast to eat “quasi European” food she could easily find at home? Since she earned her own money, she would be willing to pay substantially more to experience a taste of the kind of traditional Dalmatian cuisine she couldn’t find in France.⁵⁹

This kind of criticism was a two-way street, however, and some commentators could barely conceal their disdain for this tourist invasion. The fact was that, whether Yugoslavs liked it or not, this influx was a direct consequence of the marketing of resorts like Opatija as Adriatic versions of the French Riviera. The tourists were not exactly an asset if you believed the commentators. Pero Zlatar, for one—if slightly tongue in cheek—lamented the absence of the Yugoslav holiday maker with his uncouth manners and hot temper. Most of all, he missed the noise and frenetic pace of Opatija. “Where have those glorious times gone when drivers swore angrily because they could not find a parking space, the times when you had to reserve a room in a hotel, bed and breakfast, villa or holiday cottage three months in advance?” he wrote. Now, they had been replaced with the tourists other, more fashionable European resorts simply did not want—a high society of “foreigners with full wallets: the nouveau riche, rich heirs and heiresses, obese businessmen” who would go unnoticed in the international holiday resorts of Monte Carlo, Capri, and San Remo. In Opatija, by contrast, they could aspire to be the *crème de la crème*.⁶⁰ Zlatar recounted, with amusement, the unreasonable demands of these arrivistes. For example, a German businessman on holiday in Opatija asked the journalist why he was being treated as “a number and not as

⁵⁸ “Mala kronika dubrovačkih događaja: što se zbivalo ovoga ljeta?” *Globus*, 17 September 1961, pp. 12–6.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Zlatar (1961, p. 7).

a respected gentleman.” The hotel and tourist staff in Croatia simply had no idea of how to treat important guests like him. Another German complained that he had paid 120 dinars for entry to the private beach of Slatina and yet on arrival found that there were no recreational facilities. He also complained that he had to pay to re-enter the beach.⁶¹ In his article, Zlatar noted the complaints of various nationalities which, if nothing else, made for a fun exercise in exploring national stereotypes. The French demanded telephones in their rooms; the Italians were angry that they could not watch television; the Americans and the Swiss expressed dismay about the lack of foreign newspapers and magazines; and the English could not understand why there were no clubs in the hotel to while away the monotony of rainy days. No wonder that many of the tourist businesses in Opatija and other resorts on the Adriatic Coast looked back with loving nostalgia at past summers filled with Yugoslav tourists. The attitude of those who worked at the sharp end of the tourism industry and the mutual incomprehension of guest and host was encapsulated in the comments of one waiter who, when questioned about foreign visitors to Opatija, commented with a dismissive wave of the hand that too many guests suffered from delusions of grandeur: “Some of them think that for a little money we should treat them like Rockefeller and Onassis.”⁶²

Nonetheless, even Zlatar had to agree with foreign visitors that there was not really much to do in the evening. The quest for entertainment on a Friday evening, for example, invariably reduced the vacationer to listening to orchestral quartets or singing groups performing provincial-quality music without finesse in “silk blouses and terylene skirts.” Rare were the Friday evenings, he concluded, when one could “listen to a concert, see a fashion show, or attend a public performance of a television show like ‘The Silver Dolphin’, twice postponed owing to damage to the electric relay.” In fact, the only value of the entertainment on offer in Opatija was the abundant material it provided for comedians and caricaturists.⁶³

Zlatar’s tone was mischievous, his encounters with foreign tourists playful and deceptively acerbic. On a superficial level, his travel

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

reportage could be interpreted as a criticism of the new kind of tourist who was choosing to spend their holiday in Yugoslavia following the liberalization of its travel visa requirements. Similarly, it could also be viewed as a statement highlighting the indolence of Yugoslav tourism staff, their lack of training, and the gap between Yugoslav aspirations to a version of the western good life and the reality of life in an east European socialist state. It could even be seen as a veiled attack on the vulgar consumerism of the West, represented in its demanding tourists. But Zlatar was surely too clever for that. In essence, what Zlatar and other commentators were attempting to criticize was the negative effects of the manner in which a consumer culture had been understood and developed in Yugoslavia. Moreover, their acerbic observations were meant universally. The trends they identified in tourism were recognized by writers commenting on many other aspects of Yugoslav society. Since the right to a paid vacation was one of the most basic rights of the Yugoslav citizen, the failures of consumer culture at the price of ideology were especially symbolic. The period between the 1950s and the 1960s might have been an era of liberalization, prosperity, and increasing consumer confidence, but they also represented a period in which there were growing signs of social differentiation. Ultimately, writers like Zlatar were attempting to ask exactly the same question Vojin Delić had posed in 1957. Consumerism and commercialism—taking the place of ideology—were meant to promote national unity through prosperity. Affluence would foster brotherhood and unity. What would happen, however, if consumerism only produced prosperity for the few at the price of the many? What would happen if this social differentiation resulted in national disunity? Most importantly, perhaps, could the national and political challenges of a state founded on the ashes of fratricidal conflict and genocide be addressed through a structural system of consumption more suited to Sweden and Switzerland? If not, what then?

The Caravan of Brotherhood and Unity: Tourism as Ideology's Last Stand

The idea of utilizing tourism in the service of national reconciliation did not entirely expire in the 1950s. Tourist promotional literature still used the language of socialist patriotism and Yugoslav unity even as it embraced the idea of consumerism and western values. As a mass state-directed phenomenon, the idea of tourism for national and ideological purposes ceased to exist after the early 1950s; nonetheless, sometime in the late 1960s, government officials returned to the original utopian aspirations of leisure, albeit on a much-smaller, symbolic scale. The 1960s were a paradoxical period in Yugoslav history. Officially, the country was decentralized to an unprecedented degree. At the same time, there was a rising tide of nationalism in the country. It was a period too when Yugoslav culture and film enjoyed an unparalleled reputation in the western world and when unprecedented numbers of westerners were choosing to spend their holidays on the Adriatic Coast. Simultaneously, in Croatia in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a popular nationalist movement known as *MASPOK* (*Masovni pokret*, Mass Movement) emerged under the tutelage of a new generation of Croatian Party leaders. Economic and political issues were undoubtedly important. However, national discontent—specifically concerns about the perceived “disproportionate” influence of Croatia’s Serbs in the life of the republic and Serbian cultural domination—was arguably the key factor. At the end of 1971, following a series of republic-wide protests and strikes spearheaded by university students the federal authorities, having decided that republican leaders had lost control, crushed the demonstrations, in the process purging a Party leadership deemed to be recklessly indulgent of Croatian “nationalist deviations.”⁶⁴

In contemporary western accounts, the Croatian Spring—as this period was called—was invariably portrayed as a popular movement for political reform spearheaded by a younger liberal communist cadre against a tired ageing bureaucracy. This was true only to an extent.

⁶⁴ There are a number of accounts of the Mass Movement from the perspective of the ousted Croatian Party leadership, including Tripalo (1989) and Dabčević-Kučar (1997). English-language accounts of this period include Ramet (1992, pp. 98–136) and Schöpflin (1973).

Intellectual supporters of the student-led protest movement, such as Bruno Bušić, a young demographer at the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement, interpreted the nationalist uprising as the culmination of the generational struggle which writers such as Vojin Delić had identified a decade earlier. In an article of 1971, for instance, Bušić argued that the protests stemmed in part from a profound dissatisfaction among young people with the political discourse of their parents' generation, although, clearly, dismay at their straitened university lives and poor career prospects in a petrified socialist economy was also a motivating factor for some students. The continued "simplistic evocation of the mutual heroic past of our nation" was no longer a viable answer to the multiple economic, social, and national challenges of contemporary Yugoslavia. Moreover, similar student-led protests broke out in other Yugoslav republics and in the early 1970s a reformist faction calling for political change also emerged among communists in Serbia too. But in contrast to Serbia, there was a darker, more chauvinistic, side to the *MASPOK* protests. Bušić was one of many nationalists to question the loyalty of national minorities in Croatia, noting with disdain the lack of support for the protests by scholarship students from other republics.⁶⁵ It was obvious who was meant by this "enemies within" rhetoric and where such sentiment might lead. Looking back thirty years later, the Croatian journalist Heni Erceg, then a philosophy student at the University of Zadar, recalled seeing nationalist students with metal chains wrapped around their knuckles beating Serb students.⁶⁶

Contested versions of the past and, specifically, the trauma of the Second World War also featured prominently. Synthesizing historical memory and national grievance, *MASPOK* leaders argued that not only were the Croatian language and culture being stifled by Serbian hegemony, but that the official communist version of the Second World War was a half-truth at best, designed to demonize all manifestations of Croatian pride. According to Bušić, and many other nationalist intellectuals, the official number of Serbs, Jews, and gypsies systematically murdered by the Ustasha regime had been deliberately exaggerated by the post-war authorities. At the same time as ascribing the

⁶⁵ Bušić (1971, p. 3).

⁶⁶ Erceg (2001, p. 2).

crimes of the Ustasha regime to the whole Croatian nation, the communist authorities had systematically ignored the “far greater number” of crimes committed against the Croats both in inter-war Yugoslavia and during the Second World War.⁶⁷ The authorities were outraged by these assertions and accused leaders of the nationalist movement of not only attempting to rehabilitate a movement which had committed mass murder, but also—in the light of secret reports indicating that the anxious Croatian Serb community was arming itself—imperiling the ideology of brotherhood and unity.

In an atmosphere of communal breakdown and fear, the idea of an annual pilgrimage of Serb workers to Zagreb every year on the occasion of the anniversary of the liberation of the city from Fascist rule in May 1945 and a reciprocal visit by a group of Croatian workers to Belgrade on the anniversary of the liberation of that city in November 1944 must have made perfect sense. Not only would the “Caravan of Brotherhood and Unity” promote the ideology of brotherhood and unity, but the participants would also be able to take advantage of all the shopping and leisure opportunities in the city, including drinking and socializing with fellow workers. The covers of leisure magazines invariably showed the workers from Belgrade and Zagreb drinking enormous tankards of beer together. Living together could be difficult, the message seemed to suggest, but it could also be fun too.

This was certainly the image which reports of the event attempted to convey. In its 23 May 1975 edition, on the occasion of the visit of one thousand Belgrade workers to Zagreb on the occasion of the eighteenth Caravan of Brotherhood and Unity, the magazine *Vikend* reported that the participants had been kissed and embraced by their hosts and, like a meeting with old friends, it was “warm, smiling, sunny.” As far as the journalist Dražen Jakčin was concerned, a wonderful time had been had by all, with friendships renewed and memories refreshed.⁶⁸ That this Caravan coincided with the thirtieth anniversary of liberation and “socialist construction” made it particularly significant. On the last day of the visit to Zagreb, the guests went with their hosts to the national

⁶⁷ Bušić (1969, pp. 2–3). These “other nationalist intellectuals” included Bušić’s boss Franjo Tuđman, at the time director of the Institute for the History of the Workers’ Movement.

⁶⁸ Jakčin (1975, p. 25).

Croatian cemetery at Mirogoj to lay wreaths on the graves of national heroes and to pay their respects to those who gave their lives “for our thirty years of freedom.” After a quick visit to the quiet Upper City district of Zagreb and its museums, they departed with the friendship and brotherhood of the workers strengthened as never before: “We became brothers. And if the parting of Miodrag and Ivan, Jelisaveta and Ana, and Stjepan, Svetozar, and Josip and many others was sad, as are all departures, every one of them had the same thought contained in the final greeting: ‘See you soon in Belgrade!’”⁶⁹

From a symbolic point of view, the annual pilgrimages made for powerful propaganda, but the point was that they *were* just symbolic: unlike the early youth summer camps and workers’ resorts this was no mass state initiative aiming at the making of an entirely new national-political consciousness. Moreover, unlike early communist experiments in nation building through leisure, by the 1970s the Caravan of Brotherhood and Unity looked increasingly anachronistic and artificial—a kind of staging of national reconciliation rather than a genuine expression of the wish of Serbs and Croats to live together. The Caravan of Brotherhood and Unity continued until the beginning of the 1990s, but the lesser attention paid to the annual event by the end of the 1970s reflected the growing divisions which were beginning to emerge in Yugoslav society. By 1991, as Yugoslavia stood on the precipice of ethnic conflict and fratricidal warfare, the tradition of the Caravan and the principles of solidarity and national reconciliation it embodied were, to all intents and purposes, dead. All that remained of the concept were the memories of those who had participated in the annual fraternal trips. Unlike the Highway of Brotherhood and Unity connecting Zagreb and Belgrade, the two largest cities of Yugoslavia, the aspiration after which it was named appeared to exist in name only.

Comrades with Credit Cards: Tourism and Ideology in Communist Yugoslavia

The history of Yugoslav tourism in the making and remaking of a socialist Yugoslav consciousness is the history of a utopian experiment that failed. In the aftermath of the fratricidal conflict of the Second

⁶⁹ Ibid.

World War, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia aimed to make a new Yugoslav person with an unshakeable socialist consciousness and imbued with a deep patriotic love for the Yugoslav homeland. With the creation of a new Yugoslav person, war and conflict between the different national groups in Yugoslavia would be impossible and tribal identities would simply wither away. Tourism was to play an integral role in this. Through travel to other parts of the country, the nations of Yugoslavia would learn to see each other as brothers and attain a Yugoslav identity. At the same time the Communist Party also believed that the development of a tourist industry providing all Yugoslavs with an annual paid holiday at state resorts would give workers a glimpse of the “good life.” This would not only secure adherence to the new state but, by offering ordinary citizens a touch of consumer luxury, would create contented consumers—comrades with credit cards—for whom ethnic enmities would be rendered alien and meaningless. In fact, as youth summer camps demonstrated, conflict and struggle over ideological and symbolic space was built into the very fabric of early utopian tourism in Yugoslavia.

As the official policy of supranational Yugoslavism gave way to a stronger republic identity, the utopian Yugoslavist ideals of tourism withered away themselves. Tourism came increasingly to be perceived by the government not as an integral part of a utopian ideological project, but as an instrument of state legitimation through western-style consumerism. This new direction was not universally accepted. With the increasing commercialization of Yugoslav tourism, resistance to and criticism of market values became more pronounced and the drive to adopt the cultural practices and tastes of the West was subject to satire and withering attack.

By the 1960s, the Party had largely abandoned its transformative national and social program. Although the rhetoric of socialist patriotism and Yugoslav unity remained culturally visible, only in the symbolic Caravan of Brotherhood and Unity was there an attempt to keep alive the early idealistic aims of Yugoslav tourism. Perhaps the original aspirations of Yugoslav tourism were always doomed, given the complexity of reconciling leisure time with the ideological requirements of communism and Yugoslavism. Like the idea of a Yugoslav identity itself, Yugoslav tourism as a path to national reconciliation and ideological enlightenment ultimately fell apart under the weight of its own inherent contradictions.

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The Yugoslav Road to International Tourism

Opening, Decentralization, and Propaganda in the Early 1950s

*Igor Tchoukarine**

The study of Yugoslav tourism from a historical perspective would be incomplete without a more systematic glance at the issue of foreign tourism. Several factors call for such analysis. The development of foreign tourism in Yugoslavia preceded that of other socialist regimes by a decade and outdistanced them in terms of revenue generated by this sector and, to a lesser extent, the number of Western tourist visitors.¹ Yugoslavia's readiness to welcome foreign tourists cannot be isolated from its foreign policy, since many saw Yugoslavia and its Adriatic coast as a place located "between East and West." Yugoslavia's desire to provide "a positive tourist experience" should be understood as an example of its willingness to be integrated in the overall development trend of tourism in Europe and the wider world. Moreover, most features of Yugoslav tourism were determined during the 1950s. The period following the split with Moscow is particularly interesting, since experiments were carried out and changes made in the political and socio-economic spheres—including that of tourism. Yugoslavia's openness to international tourism was based on unrelenting Western tourist fluxes. We should not forget, however, that the return of travel-

* This research was subsidized by a doctoral scholarship from the Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture (2004-2007) and a Lavoisier scholarship (2007-2008) (French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs) during the time when the author has been a doctoral candidate at EHESS-CERCEC (Paris). Many thanks go to the Center for Southeast European History at the Karl Franz University of Graz and the French Center for Research in Social Sciences in Prague (CEFRES) for their support and their comments.

¹ Hall (1998, p. 356).

ers from the Soviet bloc in 1956 is another key aspect of tourism's development in Yugoslavia during this decade.

The staging of socialist Yugoslavia as a tourist destination went through a specific branding process. I will explore the issue in an attempt to demonstrate the type of difficulties this branding initiated and how it was closely linked with Yugoslavia's socio-political reorganization. Hence the changes that occurred in the early 1950s and the decentralization of the Yugoslav travel agency Putnik are of particular interest in the context of tourist propaganda.

In order to analyze these questions, I will divide this contribution into two parts. The first begins with introductory observations on Yugoslavia's links with Western tourism prior to the 1950s. I will then explore the development of foreign tourism in the light of Yugoslavia's international position in the years (1948–1950) following its expulsion from the Kominform. Both aspects are closely intertwined, since political legitimacy was gradually established with the opening of the country's borders, a phase embodied in the 1949–1950 tourism slogan “come and see the truth.”

In the second part I will examine the overall situation of international tourism in Yugoslavia in the first half of the 1950s. The decentralization of Putnik and the general outcome of this process on foreign tourism calls for a specific analysis based, in addition to other sources, on debates that took place in *Vesnik turizma i ugostiteljstva*, the first specialized magazine on tourism with a federal scope.² The analysis indicates that the decentralization of the administration of tourism proved to be a long, complex, and multi-faceted process, which directly touched on the question of foreign tourism in Yugoslavia.

My attempt here is to examine the issue of foreign tourism through a political reading that takes both the external and internal contexts of Yugoslavia in the 1950s into account. The investigation of both sides of

² The magazine was published from the summer of 1949 until the end of 1952. In January 1952, it was renamed *Turizam i ugostiteljstvo*. Published in Belgrade, it was the official organ of the federal tourist agencies, at first the Committee for Tourism and Hotel Management (Komitet za turizam i ugostiteljstvo Vlade FNRJ) and, as of 1951, the Main Department for Tourism and Hotel Management (Glavna Uprava za turizam i ugostiteljstvo FNRJ).

this complex issue of foreign tourism development illustrates Yugoslavia's keenness, as well as the continuity in its tourism development, but also the basic problems that confronted the Yugoslav tourism industry.

Foreign Tourism in Post-1948 Yugoslavia

The expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Kominform in June 1948 had a tremendous impact on the evolution of Yugoslavia. It is usually interpreted in both Yugoslav and Western historiographies as having triggered a set of changes in the Yugoslav system, with the gradual abandonment of the Soviet centralist model. Indeed, in the face of criticism from the USSR, Yugoslav leaders reinterpreted the basis of Marxism. This trend, fostered by a need for political distinction from Moscow, led to the introduction in 1950 of the self-management that became the headlight of Yugoslav socialism.

Not unlike in the case of Yugoslav historiography, current tourism specialists as well as those active in the socialist period referred to the initial phase as the "administrative development of tourism." According to various authors, this period lasted until 1950 or 1952.³ The analysis of the changes that occurred in tourism in this transitional period is of particular interest, since the split with Moscow had an immediate effect.⁴ Indeed, the Czechoslovak and Hungarian governments banned further tourist travels to Yugoslavia in early August 1948.⁵ International tourism in Yugoslavia was therefore depicted as pro-Eastern up to 1948 and subsequently as pro-Western.⁶

Some refinements need to be added to the constantly reiterated interpretation of Yugoslavia's pro-Western orientation in tourism as a direct result of the conflict with Stalin. While this explanation is quite accurate, there is evidence to suggest that the picture was less univocal.

First of all, Westerners had also visited Yugoslavia before the split of 1948. Between 1946 and 1948, the country maintained links with Western countries, albeit keeping a low profile. Putnik managed the

³ Radišić (1981, p. 35) (1945–1950); Antunac (1970) (1945–1952); Vukonić (2005, p. 136) (1945–1952).

⁴ Other socio-economic spheres were not subject to immediate consequences. See Marković (1996, p. 18).

⁵ Tchoukarine (2007).

⁶ See, for instance, Nešić (1956, p. 13).

first tourist offices of socialist Yugoslavia abroad. Offices were opened in Tirana and Prague in 1946, followed by an office in Paris in 1947; offices were also scheduled to be established in London and New York.⁷ Furthermore, Putnik signed tourist agreements in 1947 with nine foreign tourist agencies, five of which were located in Western countries (Belgium, Sweden, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands).⁸ While the agreement with Čedok, the main Czechoslovak tourist agency, was by far the most successful in terms of number of tourists on organized trips, there is very little evidence of the genuine impact of these agreements. Significantly, however, attempts to improve tourist relations with the West had already been made before the split in 1948. The Croatian planning commission, for instance, estimated that tourists from Western countries represented 22.6 percent of all foreign tourists in Croatia between January and November 1948. Not surprisingly, tourists from socialist countries represented 69.6 percent of foreign fluxes; the remainder was made up of tourists from other European and non-European countries.⁹ These figures, although encompassing visitors of all kinds rather than tourists in the strict sense,¹⁰ nevertheless call for a reassessment of previous assumptions.

Several contributors to *Vesnik turizma i ugostiteljstva* stated that the resumption of foreign tourism in 1951 brought a ten-year break to

⁷ AJ (Arhiv Jugoslavije), fond (f.) 163 (Ministarstvo trgovine i snabdevanja), folder (f.) 25 (hereafter 163/25), "Uloga i značaj predstavništva PUTNIK u inostranstvu," vol. 2, no. 5, May 1947.

⁸ AJ, 163/25, "Izveštaj o poslovanju između Ministarstva saobraćaja FNRJ i Putnik-a."

⁹ HDA (Hrvatski državni arhiv), f. 350/2 (Uprava za turizam Ministarstva trgovine i opskrbe). Western tourists came from twelve listed countries. This data should be interpreted cautiously, since many of the Western tourists came from Italy, including transits from the Free Territory of Trieste. However, tourists from Austria, England, West Germany, the United States of America, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Switzerland, as well as non-European countries, amounted to 14.2 percent of foreign tourists.

¹⁰ An article in the journal *Turističke novosti* (No. 6, 1953) stated that most visitors in 1949 came to Belgrade for work purposes, whereas visitors in 1952 were mostly tourists. This assessment was based on the average length of stay, which was nine days in 1949 and 4.5 days in 1952.

a close. In the same vein, one contemporary author claimed that business ties with Western tourist agencies had only been reestablished in 1950.¹¹ Again, this does not adequately describe the overall landscape of foreign tourism in Yugoslavia. It omits that a large section of Czechoslovak tourists who came to Yugoslavia between 1946 and 1948 travelled via private tourist agencies such as the Dubrovnik Spa & Hotel Society (*Dubrovnika lázeňská a hotelová společnost*), the Travema agency, or even Čedok, which was founded in 1920 and nationalized in March 1948. Many communists, both Czechoslovak and Yugoslav, perceived the bulk of these tourists as bourgeois, i.e., as representatives of a Western travel culture. This was a culture with strong links to pre-war tourism, when the Czechoslovak tourist sites and stations acquired prior to World War I or in the course of the interwar period hosted most Czechoslovak tourists between 1946 and 1948. Although this aspect cannot be dealt with in more detail here, it does point to the fact that the history of foreign tourism in Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1948 requires more subtle assessment. Tourism shows evidence of a deep-rooted continuity from pre-war developments, through the orientation between 1945 and 1948 to Tito's Yugoslavia from 1950 onwards.

Notwithstanding established traditions, tourist fluxes were closely linked to Yugoslavia's foreign policy. The disruption of tourism in 1948 created a "vacuum effect,"¹² which in turn benefited domestic tourism. Yugoslav statistics indicate a substantial decline in foreign tourists in 1949 compared to 1947–1948 levels. Apart from the politically motivated absence of East European tourists as of August 1948, the weakness of foreign tourism in Yugoslavia can also be explained by efforts made in domestic tourism. The promotion of the latter fulfilled a socio-political task in a critical period, providing a wider horizon for the Yugoslav domestic campaign advocating a better standard of living for all. In a general report at the 4th extraordinary session in the Federal Assembly in December 1948, Tito stated that tourism must satisfy the needs of the workers. He underlined that improvements had to be made in tourism, which he saw as a branch of the economy closely

¹¹ Vukonić (1993, p. 34).

¹² Vukonić (1993, p. 136). The expression is also used in *Vesnik turizma i ugostiteljstva* 3/4 (1951), p. 245.

associated with issues of culture, hygiene and health.¹³ It is interesting to note that Tito remained silent on the question of foreign tourism. This can be explained to a certain extent by the fact that the fate of foreign tourism in Yugoslavia was unknown. Nonetheless, reporting to the federal tourist conference in early 1949, Ljubo Krstulović, Putnik's director in 1947–1948, stressed that Tito's speech in December 1948 "clearly determined essential tasks" for Yugoslav tourism.¹⁴

It is also worth noting that *Vesnik turizma i ugostiteljstva* produced only one article on foreign tourism in its first three issues in the second half of 1949. On the other hand, many of the articles in this magazine and in Yugoslav newspapers such as *Borba* dealt with domestic tourism. The communist phraseology emphasized, for instance, that tourism in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was restricted to the foreign and domestic bourgeoisie, whereas tourism in socialist Yugoslavia was accessible to all the workers, a reality that resulted from the "successful building of socialism."¹⁵

All of this suggests that in 1949 Yugoslavia was not clear about the direction foreign tourism and foreign policy should take.¹⁶ A report of November 1948 from the Federal State Control Commission made mention of foreign tourism and asked whether and to what extent foreign tourism was to be developed.¹⁷ The question was settled after a few months, when the Federal Economic Council ordered that the "same conditions" prevailing in 1948 be set up in June 1949 for the arrival of

¹³ *Borba*, 28 December 1948. Report by Tito at the 4th extraordinary session of the Federal Assembly.

¹⁴ AJ, f. 19 (Komisija Državne Kontrole FNRJ) /186/1702. The excerpt from Tito's speech on tourism was published in *Vesnik turizma i ugostiteljstva* 1/1 (1949), p. 12.

¹⁵ An article from *Borba* on 31 July 1949, entitled "Worker's pleasant vacation—a result of the successful building of socialism." AJ, f. 19/186/1702.

¹⁶ The five-year plan (1947–1951) mapped out projections for the development of foreign tourism. Veda Zagorac, vice-president of the Federal Committee for Tourism, explained in November 1948 that the plan for foreign tourism had not been fulfilled, due to the "irregular position of certain states" toward Yugoslavia, i.e., the Czechoslovak and Hungarian interdictions of August 1948. AJ, f. 19/186/1700, "Izveštaj o realizaciji plana turizma za III kvartal 1948. god."

¹⁷ AJ, f. 19/186/1702 "Zapisnici po pitanju turizma," 15 November 1948.

foreign tourists. This directive indicates that measures for potential incoming foreigners were at least planned, if not fully implemented.¹⁸

It would be misleading to assume that the year 1949 was exclusively oriented towards domestic tourism. The Yugoslav five-year plan, although disrupted as a result of the economic break with the USSR and its satellites, was still ongoing in 1949 and tourism planning geared to the development of foreign tourism. Projections for Croatia alone forecasted the arrival of 36,380 foreign tourists for 1949, which meant 6.4 percent of overnight stays.¹⁹

Moreover, the above-mentioned tourist conference of 1949 also paid attention to foreign tourism. Tourist propaganda abroad, it was stated, could “play a major role in informing the international public about our country, in making the beauty of our homeland known, and the development and progress of its socialist construction.”²⁰ This assertion greatly resembles the comment made by prominent party member Aleš Bebler, Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs at the time, during the second plenum of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party (*CK KPJ*) in January 1949. Bebler deplored the high number of incidents involving foreigners and the lack of tact exhibited towards them by Yugoslavs. He also mentioned that Yugoslavs continued to see foreigners as would-be spies. Judging this situation as regrettable, he explained that foreigners could be excellent propagandists in the interest of Yugoslavia abroad.²¹ Interestingly, at a Federal

¹⁸ Lekić and Zečević (1995, p. 329). Meeting held on 29 June 1949. No explanation was given, however, as to what was meant by the “same conditions.”

¹⁹ HDA, f. 350/2, “Plan turizma za 1949. godinu.” This projection remained unfulfilled, since only 31,712 foreign tourists came to Yugoslavia in 1949. *Statistički godišnjak FNRJ 1954* (1954, p. 246).

²⁰ AJ, f. 19/186/1702. Zagorac (1949).

²¹ Petranović et al. (1985, pp. 239–40). Bebler detailed an incident that involved the journey of an American librarian who travelled from Belgrade to Šabac (approximately 75 km west of Belgrade) by truck. The librarian had to be back in Belgrade on Sunday due to obligations in the city before continuing her trip to Bulgaria. Instead of Sunday, she arrived in Belgrade on Monday evening. This was not due to mechanical problems but to several stopovers along the way, since Yugoslavs travelling in the truck took advantage of the trip to visit relatives and acquaintances despite the American librarian’s tight schedule. Bebler considered their behavior towards the foreign visitor inconsiderate.

Economic Council conference in September 1949, Vladimir Velebit,²² President of the Federal Committee for Tourism, asserted that it was not necessary to plan for foreigners at summer resorts in the following year, with the exception of those that were indispensable for “political reasons.”²³

Yugoslavia’s new international situation and tougher stance in the conflict with Moscow simultaneously assigned foreign visitors a specific role. The years 1949–1950 are negligible in terms of numbers of visitors and overnight stays, as well as currency gains. In this particular chapter of the history of Yugoslavia, however, visits by foreigners served a political purpose in the ongoing conflict with Moscow.

A Message for Abroad: “Come and See the Truth”

This slogan is in essence the message that Yugoslavia put forward on many occasions when promoting Tito’s government. Reflecting Yugoslav foreign policy, the message was explicitly formulated in the course of 1949 by several Yugoslav cadres, such as Edvard Kardelj, Aleš Bebler, and various tourism bureaucrats. Criticized by the entire socialist camp, Yugoslavia also had to deal with a major media deficit in capitalist countries. Tito and the national liberation movement, which had sided with the Allies, generated genuine sympathy. For the Western world, however, Tito’s Yugoslavia remained an unknown—and communist—country. On the one hand, Yugoslavia had to convince the Kominformist and left-wing public of the legitimacy of its position and, on the other, the governments of liberal democracies. The presence of foreigners in the country was an adequate means of proving to the world that Soviet criticism was pure fiction.

The real test, the beginning of the “come and see the truth” policy, was ushered in August 1949 with the visit of French intellectual Jean Cassou. The latter explained in his book *Une vie pour la liberté*: “Ris-

²² Besides his position as President of the Committee for Tourism and Hotel Management in 1948–1950, Vladimir Velebit served as ambassador in Italy and Great Britain, and held various positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

²³ Lekić and Zečević (1995, vol. 2, p. 502). Meeting held on 23 September 1949. No further explanation of the phrase “political reasons” was given.

tich [the Yugoslav ambassador in Paris] invited me to spend the summer holidays in Yugoslavia with my wife and daughter in 1949." He later added: "My first journey, the one that raised the roof. I saw immediately that Stalin's condemnation of Tito was an iniquitous and lying deed."²⁴ His sojourn in and friendly position towards Yugoslavia were appraised by the French diplomatic services as extremely important. Jean Payart, the French ambassador in Belgrade, commented that this trip "scored the first success of the Yugoslav Communist Party in its attempt to sway the communist and progressive world opinion against the Kominform and the USSR."²⁵ Payart also wrote that Tito based much hopes on this visit and its potential outcome. In fact, some French intellectuals rallied around Cassou's position and helped to launch a movement that endorsed the position of Yugoslavia in the early 1950s.²⁶

Moreover, Cassou acted as a political broker²⁷ by opening an additional niche, at least for French tourists. Although, due to its geopolitical situation and indeed its location, Yugoslavia remained a somewhat faraway destination for Westerners. Writing about his trip in 1949, Cassou claimed that it "launched a tourist fashion," and that after reconciliation with the USSR in 1955, travelling to Yugoslavia became "most tasteful."²⁸

²⁴ Cassou (1981, pp. 248, 250). Cassou's itinerary is somewhat vague, but he spent the first few days of his trip in Belgrade. He then went to Stara Pazova in Vojvodina to visit a farm cooperative and continued on to Bosnia-Herzegovina, where he visited hydroelectric plants and gave a speech in Sarajevo.

²⁵ MAE (Archives of Quai d'Orsay), Relations culturelles, scientifiques et techniques, oeuvres diverses, échanges culturels 1945–1959, b. 150, telegram from 15 August 1949. The Czechoslovak ambassador in Paris also regarded this visit as extremely important, since Cassou was the first major foreign figure to come to Yugoslavia after the Kominform resolution. AMZV (Archives of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Territorial Section-Common, Yugoslavia, TO-OJ, 1945–1959, 26/1.

²⁶ Cassou's critical position on the USSR was nevertheless a somewhat lonely case on the French political scene. The events of 1956 were much more decisive. See Verdès-Leroux (1983, p. 23).

²⁷ I take the term "political broker" from "culture broker," i.e., someone who mediates between tourists and their destination. See "culture broker" in Jafari (2000, p. 26).

²⁸ Cassou (1981, p. 257).

Tourism was equally important for the Yugoslav leadership. At the 3rd plenum of the CK KPJ in December 1949, Kardelj underlined the importance of foreign visitors to Yugoslavia. He explained that the interest of foreigners in the country was increasing and helped to make Yugoslavia's struggle more widely known abroad.²⁹ The speech made by Kardelj, at that time also Minister of Foreign Affairs, must be seen against the background of Cassou's visit a few months earlier. His position was also relayed in the tourist press, e.g., in *Vesnik turizma i ugostiteljstva*. In 1951, Marovt, the vice-director of Putnik, claimed that foreign tourist interest in Yugoslavia reinforced its international position, especially *vis-à-vis* the USSR and its satellites.³⁰ This line of thinking was to be a constant throughout the socialist period, albeit with slightly varying content. Yugoslavia's openness towards the rest of the world, expressed by its leadership in the Non-Alignment Movement, also found a position in the Yugoslav rationale of tourism development. In this vein, the historian Predrag Marković rightly asserts: "a country that claims to be among the political avant-garde of the world cannot keep its own citizens in a ghetto."³¹ On the eve of the collapse of Yugoslavia, for example, Yugoslav tourism specialist S.M. Stanković wrote in the typical Yugoslav phraseology found in tourism studies and elsewhere:

The non-alignment policy [...], originally from Yugoslavia, has largely been accepted by progressive people all over the world. In this spirit it has become a key factor in international tourism development at home. Yugoslavia was one of the first countries to proclaim the principle "tourism, passport for peace" and consistently apply it, leaving its borders wide open to well-meaning tourists.³²

In 1949 or the early 1950s, messages addressed to the world were not yet based on these axes. Nevertheless, a prominent visitor or a sports event, for example, was always an opportunity to remind foreigners of the role they could play. A discourse addressed to foreign competitors of a bicycle tour in Slovenia and Croatia in August and September

²⁹ Petranović et al. (1995, pp. 479–80).

³⁰ Marovt (1951a, p. 209).

³¹ Marković (1996, pp. 253–4).

³² Stanković (1990, p. 173).

1949 enjoined them to “describe the country’s situation as it really is and to spread this truth throughout the world.”³³ This attempt by Yugoslavia at relaying a positive message abroad was not a remote case, since numerous French visitors in 1949 and the early 1950s were requested to do the same.³⁴

In March 1950, Tito clarified the policy of “come and see the truth.” During a discourse in Split, where some 80,000 people had converged, he explained: “If someone travelling in our country sees what has been accomplished and is still going on, then regardless of whether he has a hostile position towards our Yugoslavia, he cannot say that our workers have not given everything of themselves.”³⁵ This, according to Tito, was the reason why Yugoslav workers had impressed the entire world. It is worth noting that Tanjug, the Yugoslav news agency, published excerpts of this discourse in its periodical bulletin for the Western world, presenting them as Tito’s answer to Western allegations that Yugoslavia had negotiated with Moscow.³⁶ This rhetoric is typical of a particular moment in Yugoslav representational policy. The latter was also conveyed through the principle adopted by the Politburo of the *KPJ*, which stated that links with Western socialist and trade unionist parties must be established.³⁷

It is not my intention here to trace the genealogy of these links but rather to show 1949 and 1950 as a period when foreign tourism, political interests and Yugoslavia’s reorientation toward Western countries were closely interlaced. Indeed, the presence of foreigners and foreign tourism in general played a political function for a brief moment in time.

Was the early development of foreign tourism a result of the 1949 Yugoslav policy of “come and see the truth”? Foreign observers, particularly Cassou, had a key role in introducing Yugoslavia abroad and

³³ MAE, Correspondance politique, Europe, Yougoslavie, b. 143, folio 1.

³⁴ See, for instance, Humbert (1950) and issues of the French journal *Esprit* from December 1949 and February 1950.

³⁵ Archives of the Museum of the History of Yugoslavia, Office of Marshal of Yugoslavia, KMJ, II 1/23, speech held in Split on 5 March 1950.

³⁶ CADN (Diplomatic Archives in Nantes), Services des échanges artistiques, b. 1493.

³⁷ Dedijer (1971, p. 273).

countering blunt Soviet criticism. I argue that the “invitation” to “come and see the truth” extended to foreigners helped to foster international tourism in Yugoslavia. This interpretation, however, should be incorporated in a broader picture, since the economic benefits of tourism remained the essential motive behind its development incentives. Indeed, tourism, in particular foreign tourism, was first and foremost understood as a branch of the economy and was subject to ideological spins on specific occasions, although this tendency declined in the course of the 1950s.³⁸ Whereas Yugoslav authorities did not mistrust foreign tourism, this attitude was still evident in other socialist countries, such as Czechoslovakia, whose leadership regarded the development of foreign tourism with suspicion.³⁹

Significantly, and with the possible exception of late 1948, Yugoslavia never questioned its open policy on foreign tourism. Resistance from the Yugoslav Ministry of Interior was palpable on occasion but did not seriously impede its development.⁴⁰ Driven by economic and

³⁸ Similar conclusions were reached on culture in post-war Yugoslavia. See Lilly (1997).

³⁹ A resolution of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party from October 1963 proposed the development of tourism. Reports from this meeting recognized that Czechoslovakia had fallen behind in terms of tourism and, by the same token, had lost years of potential promotion of the country on the international scene. The same report emphasized that Czechoslovakia should make the best of having foreigners in the country, since international tourism could not be prohibited. It recommended reinforcing education and propaganda to prevent Czechoslovak citizens from being fooled by foreigners, whose presence meant the penetration of bourgeois ideas. A conversation between Tito and Novotný on the occasion of the latter's visit to Yugoslavia in September 1964 is also quite telling. Tito's attitude contrasted with Novotný's, who considered the infiltration of bourgeois ideas a serious problem, now that the borders were open for Western tourists. Czech National Archives, ÚV-KSČ, file 36–37, unit 40, point 12; Archives of the Museum of the History of Yugoslavia, Office of the President of the Republic, KPR 1-3-a.

⁴⁰ One emblematic case could be the conflict at the beginning of the 1960s between Milka Kufrin, communist cadre, promoter of tourism, and founder of the Federal Committee for Tourism in 1963, and Alexander Ranković, the Yugoslav Minister of the Interior, who favored impeding

political interests, Yugoslav openness was in keeping with a larger movement—the development of mass tourism during the 1950s and 1960s—suggesting that sooner or later Yugoslavia would have been an integral part of this trend. Indeed, a longer-term process must also be taken into account, as the development of tourism was closely linked with new social practices defined by increasing mobility.⁴¹ As already pointed out, the development of international tourism in Yugoslavia displays a continuity that does not allow for over-differentiation between the socialist period and its predecessor. As already mentioned, it is worth underlining the fact that Yugoslavia distinguished itself from other socialist countries with an early and more radical open policy toward Western tourism.

The next section will briefly outline the evolution of international tourism in the first half of the 1950s, and continue with an analysis of the decentralization of Putnik and its consequences.

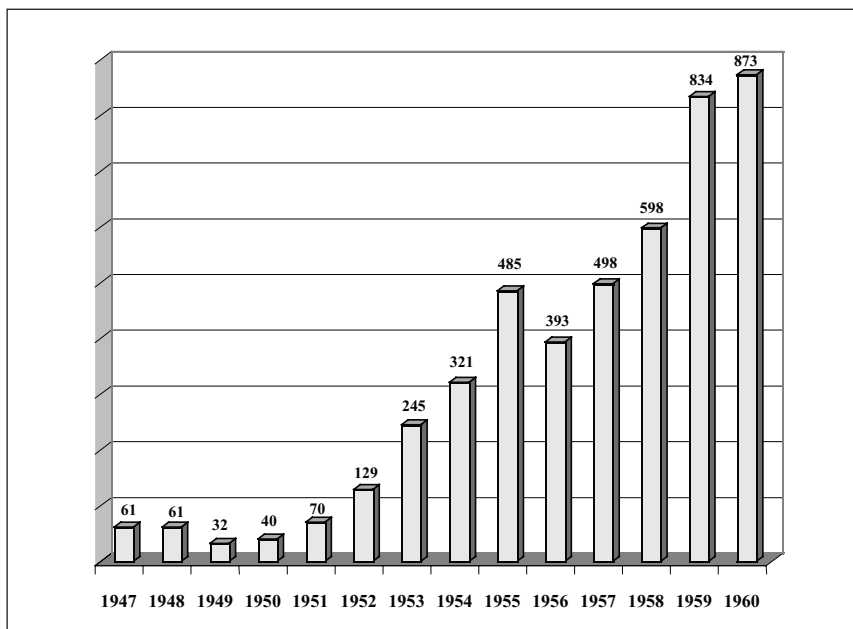
The Growth of International Tourism in the First Half of the 1950s

It seems superfluous to note a posteriori how important the 1950s were for the development of international tourism in Yugoslavia. The situation, however, was far from straightforward initially. Tense international circumstances, continuous border incidents with Soviet satellites, unsettled relations with neighbors, such as Austria and Italy, not to mention lack of goods, droughts, and organizational problems, all of which contributed to the somewhat modest development of foreign tourism between 1949 and 1951. The real post-1945 take-off occurred in 1952–1953. Table 1 illustrates the progression of foreign fluxes from 1949 to 1960.

the development of international tourism. This account came from Ridley (1994). Research in Tito's personal archives and those of the Federal Committee of Tourism found no evidence of this dispute. Several directives and requests from the Yugoslav secret police (the *UDBA*) in the late 1950s asking about the potential influences of foreign tourists on Yugoslav citizens can be found in the archives of the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia (AJ, ACK SKJ, f. 507, VIII).

⁴¹ Urry (2000).

Table 1. *Number of foreign visitors in thousands between 1947 and 1960*⁴²



This growth was stimulated by a cluster of decrees and instructions issued in 1951, whose aim was to foster international tourism, e.g., with measures such as special rates for transportation and the purchase of goods with vouchers. New agreements with foreign travel agencies and increased activities in the information and propaganda centers located in the USA, France, England, and Austria also played their part in furthering the growth of foreign tourism.⁴³ The devaluation of the Yugoslav dinar in 1952 made the country a more affordable destination compared to previous years. In brief, the year 1952 is regarded as the moment when foreign tourism was first taken seriously.⁴⁴

A series of measures was thus agreed upon during the 1950s, setting the stage for the following decade. The 1960s embodied a new

⁴² Source: *Ugostiteljstvo i turizam 1960* (1962, p. 40) and *Statistički godišnjak FNRJ 1954* (1954, p. 246).

⁴³ Rakić (1951, p. 132).

⁴⁴ Antunac (1983, p. 39).

era, as tourism became a mass phenomenon with a sharp increase in overnight stays across the world. In 1950, world international tourist arrivals amounted to 25.3 million, jumped to 69.3 million in 1960, and reached 165.8 million in 1970.⁴⁵ Statistics scored new heights in Yugoslavia: "From around half a million foreign tourists in 1957, the number soared to 3.6 million by 1967, during which time Yugoslavia's earnings from this source in convertible currencies rose from \$4.5 million to \$133 million."⁴⁶ The average growth rate of foreign tourism in Yugoslavia between 1952 and 1960 was 29 percent, way above the European average.⁴⁷ However, making progress was not difficult, since international tourism was a poorly developed sector: interwar figures for foreign tourists were first surpassed in 1955.

Despite the fact that Yugoslav tourism experts vigorously emphasized the potential profit to be gained from tourism, the bulk of measures favoring international tourism was not undertaken until the mid-1960s, triggered by the 4th plenum of the Communist League of Yugoslavia in July 1962. Tito and Boris Krajer, a Slovenian high-ranking communist who supported economic reforms, made a plea for the development of international tourism. Tito spoke of this economic sector as having been left behind and perceived as of secondary importance. Tito also commented: "We used to say that if someone wanted to come, let him come, our Adriatic sea is beautiful, let him see it and he will come again. This is no longer the case." Tito stressed that Yugoslavs needed to improve the road networks, build hotels, and make foreigners "emotionally attached" to the Adriatic.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ There was an average growth of 10.6 percent between 1950 and 1960, and of 6.8 percent between 1950 and 2000. Source: World Tourism Organization, *Tourism Market Trends*, 2006 Edition. http://unwto.org/facts/eng/pdf/historical/ITA_1950_2005.pdf.

⁴⁶ Allcock (2000, p. 82).

⁴⁷ M.M. (1961, p. 684). The 29 percent was calculated on the basis of numbers of foreign visitors. The annual growth rate reaches an average 38.8 percent when the 1949–1960 period is taken into account. Growth increased between 1950 and 1953, reaching an average annual growth of 81.33 percent. *Ugostiteljstvo i turizam 1960* (1962). AJ, f. 580/11 (Savezni komitet za turizam).

⁴⁸ *Četvrti plenum CK SKJ, 1962* (1962, p. 17).

Czechoslovak and Soviet Bloc Tourists Return to Yugoslavia

The 1950s are also distinguished as being the period in the Yugoslav history of tourism in which East European tourism was resumed. Apart from its significance as a step in the process of normalization between Yugoslavia and the Soviet bloc, this key moment reveals the perception of tourism in the Yugoslav leadership, and the overlaps between tourism and politics. Here I will take the example of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet bloc country that maintained significant tourist links with Yugoslavia, both in terms of a deep-rooted tourist culture and of the number of holidaymakers.

The “thaw” period seemed promising for the resumption of tourist relations. Indeed, 1954 saw a consensus in Yugoslav circles to revive tourist relations with Czechoslovakia. Various Yugoslav administrative branches attempted to establish contact with their Czechoslovak counterparts in this respect. In the summer and fall of 1955, Yugoslav tourist agencies such as Turist-Express and Zagreb Putnik⁴⁹ made direct contact with the Czechoslovak Ministry of Transport and Čedok with the aim of discussing the issue of tourism.⁵⁰ This endeavor, although it did not have immediate results, is an example of the decentralization process that allowed republican agencies to negotiate with foreign agents. The topic of decentralization will be covered in the following section, but it is worth noting here that negotiations with foreign partners were no longer confined to the Belgrade-based Putnik.⁵¹

Notwithstanding the willingness of Yugoslav governmental bodies to resume tourism with Czechoslovakia, the matter still hinged on delicate political relations. Suspicion continued to govern Czechoslovakia's relations with Yugoslavia. On 12 May 1955, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggested to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to drop the idea of tourism with

⁴⁹ Putnik's branch offices continued to bear the name “Putnik” after decentralization.

⁵⁰ AMZV, Territorial Section-Secret, Yugoslavia (TO-TJ), 1945–55/7/2.

⁵¹ As a centralized tourist agency during the interwar period and between 1945 and 1951, Putnik controlled its branch offices in Yugoslavia's main cities from its head office in Belgrade.

Yugoslavia until further negotiations had taken place.⁵² In spite of the Belgrade declaration of June 1955, progress was slow, and many Yugoslav requests, such as those for the renewal of tourism, were not fully taken into account by the Czechoslovaks.⁵³ At the beginning of 1956, the political climate began to change. The Czechoslovak leadership concluded a trade agreement in February 1956, which contained a temporary agreement on tourism. Further collaboration continued in the subsequent weeks. According to Čedok, however, directives for collective trips to Yugoslavia were first issued in the late spring of 1956, which illustrates the reservations of the Czechoslovak authorities in this matter.⁵⁴ On the whole, 1956 saw the revival of Czechoslovak tourism in Yugoslavia, after an interval of seven years. Several trends prevailed in these fluxes. Figures for Eastern European tourists and overnights in Yugoslavia remained modest. In 1968, they represented 16 percent of all foreign overnight stays, with Czechoslovak tourists making up 61 percent of the total.⁵⁵

The lively interest of the Yugoslavs in 1954–1956 to resume work with Czechoslovak partners tapered off in the face of specific problems. Since they were dependent on Czechoslovak policies, Yugoslav tourist organizations found it difficult to plan this form of tourism or influence it with propaganda. As a result, all efforts were overtly directed towards Western countries, and no promotional campaign was launched on Czechoslovakia.⁵⁶ Moreover, the new clash between Belgrade and Moscow in 1958 hindered developments made since the resumption of tourism in 1956, albeit not as seriously as the 1948 clash had. The influx of tourists declined between 1959 and 1962, but did not come

⁵² AMZV, TO-TJ, 1945–55/7/3, Meeting of the Politburo of Czechoslovak Communist Party (12 May 1955), “K bodu: Turistické zájezdy z Československa do Jugoslaviie.”

⁵³ Pelikán (2001, p. 270).

⁵⁴ AMZV, TO-OJ, 1945–59/20/9, “Zhodnocení ČEDOK—zájezdů do Jugoslávie v r. 1956,” (11 October 1956).

⁵⁵ Archives of the Museum of the History of Yugoslavia, Office of the President of the Republic, KPR III-A-e, File for 1969.

⁵⁶ Reports on East European tourism (1969 and 1970) and a letter from the Tourist Association of Yugoslavia from 10 October 1966. Archives of the Museum of the History of Yugoslavia, Office of the President of the Republic, KPR III-A-e.

to a complete standstill. Nonetheless, Yugoslav expectations fell. In a confidential document for a state commission in 1958, the Tourist Association of Yugoslavia (*Turistički savez Jugoslavije, TSJ*), founded in 1953, pled for a long-term policy on foreign tourism. The association defended its orientation towards countries with high standards of living, that is, the USA and the Scandinavian countries. The latter had yet another advantage: their relations with Yugoslavia were stable, whereas the instability of relations with the Soviet bloc endorsed the idea that specific efforts in tourism should not be undertaken.⁵⁷ Tourism with socialist countries was therefore marginalized in comparison to Western tourism, which was less hindered by political motives and provided coveted hard currencies.

Here again, the development of foreign tourism in Yugoslavia was closely linked to its foreign policy. The launching of foreign tourism in 1952–1953 coincided with several relevant measures. The decentralization of Putnik was one, and its analysis allows for further consideration of the question of international tourism in Yugoslavia.

The Decentralization of Putnik and Its Impact on International Tourism

Originally founded in 1923, Putnik resumed its work as a shareholding company as early as 1 May 1945.⁵⁸ The Putnik tourist agency, however, was nationalized in December 1946. As a federal centralized tourist agency, Putnik, whose offices were located in Belgrade, acted

⁵⁷ AJ, f. 508, “Mere za razvoj inostranog turizma i povećanje deviznog priliva,” (15 May 1958).

⁵⁸ During the interwar period, Putnik was a shareholding company with the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Yugoslav Touring Club as the main shareholders. As the national tourist agency, Putnik centralized tourism management and acted as official spokesman on matters of tourism both within the country and abroad. Putnik’s main task was to provide free information, sell transport tickets, organize tourist trips and propaganda, and where necessary, to assist the local tourist associations in most of the towns and regions of the Yugoslav kingdom. Putnik relied on a network of branch offices in the country. The archival fund of the Ministry of Commerce (No. 65) at the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade contains relevant documents on Putnik in the interwar period.

as the main tourist agency of the country. Apart from Putnik, tourism management was also conducted in federal institutions such as the Main Department of Tourism and Hotel Management (*Glavna uprava za turizam i ugostiteljstvo FNRJ*) and the Committee for Tourism and Hotel Management (*Komitet za turizam i ugostiteljstvo Vlade FNRJ*) within the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Supply in Belgrade.

Putnik was solely responsible for dealing with foreign tourist agencies and representing Yugoslavia abroad.⁵⁹ Directives from federal to republican tourist bodies were blunt: local tourist associations were not entitled, at least not in 1947–1948, to negotiate with foreign agencies. All correspondence with foreign tourist agencies had to go through the central administration in Belgrade.⁶⁰

The rigid frame of Belgrade central planning had numerous shortcomings. Recurrent mistakes in dispatching foreign tourists within the Yugoslav hotel network spawned countless complaints and considerable resentment from both republic and foreign tourist agencies.⁶¹ Tourist administrative reforms were anticipated by many, as illustrated in the summer of 1947 by the grievances of Ante Cerovac, administrator of the Croatian Department of Tourism, concerning Putnik's monopoly

⁵⁹ In 1948, Putnik would have had business relations with 22 tourist agencies in eighteen countries, and exchanged material with 98 tourist agencies in nineteen countries, see *Informativni priručnik o Jugoslaviji* (1948, p. 119). These figures are surprising, since many connections must have been sporadic or superficial, given the fact that in 1947 only nine tourist agreements had been reached with foreign agencies.

⁶⁰ HDA, f. 350/1/120. Ante Cerovac reminded local associations in May 1947 of this obligation. He renewed his directive in November 1948. However, the Croatian Department for Tourism made the plea that information of a purely informative character be given to foreigners. This was the case with the Zagorje Hotel Enterprise in Zagreb, which provided information for Swedish, Swiss, and American tourists (HDA, f. 350/2/1141).

⁶¹ Many accounts from 1947–1948 attest to this dispatch problem. A report in August 1948 to the Federal Commission of Control from the Committee for Tourism specified that Putnik had not taken local reports into account and that tourists were dispatched to hotels already occupied. In Opatija and Dubrovnik, Yugoslav tourists were dislodged to make room for foreign tourists. AJ, f. 19/186/1700.

on issues of foreign tourism. Cerovac explained that this monopoly impeded tourism centers on the Adriatic island of Rab from reaching favorable agreements with Czechoslovak bodies interested in avoiding Čedok's mediation.⁶²

It is difficult, and most probably futile, to judge whether or not the Yugoslav system would have changed had the split with Moscow not occurred.⁶³ Be that as it may, the period following the split provided the opportunity for profound reassessment. The issue of decentralization in tourism was raised more openly in 1949 at the federal conference of tourism in Belgrade.⁶⁴ However, the key role of the central bodies continued to prevail in tourism planning. In June 1949, the Federal Economic Council, for instance, requested information on the precise number of foreign tourists that could be greeted, and their accommodation sites.⁶⁵

Its vagueness notwithstanding, the idea of decentralization meant the transmission of responsibility for tourism management and planning to republican and local tourist bodies. It did not yet mean that tourist agencies in the individual republics were entitled to deal directly with foreign agencies. On the contrary, a conference held in Zagreb in November 1949 restated that the task of receiving foreigners must be operated through Putnik and its branch offices.⁶⁶ Only Putnik had the right to sell vouchers—a measure of control that guaranteed Yugoslav citizens would not gain possession of hard currencies and that the income from tourism be collected by central institutions in Belgrade.

Discussions were held both prior and subsequent to the official decentralization of Putnik, which was implemented in July 1951. An article by Milan Apih, a key cadre in tourism administration, that

⁶² AJ, f. 19/186/1704. Letter (3 July 1947) sent to the Main Department for Tourism.

⁶³ The need to decentralize Putnik was, for instance, mentioned as early as 1947.

⁶⁴ In terms of organization, the federal conference for tourism concluded that Putnik should be decentralized, with each of the company's branches granted equal status. AJ, f. 19/186/1702.

⁶⁵ Lekić and Zečević (1995, vol. 2, p. 329).

⁶⁶ *Vesnik turizma i ugostiteljstva* 1/3 (1949), p. 133.

appeared in the spring of 1951 is revealing.⁶⁷ He wrote that the planned reform was welcomed by republican travel agencies because Putnik's centralized methods were seen as inefficient, and generated discontent.⁶⁸ Apih advised, however, that the "nature" of several tasks called for centralized management. He therefore suggested the creation of a single association to deal with foreign agencies. This led to the introduction in 1951 of a new Putnik Agency,⁶⁹ this time as a common organ of republican agencies, which were, in fact, former branches of centralized Putnik. The Agency had the exclusive right to conclude agreements with foreign agencies and carried out promotional services abroad.⁷⁰ Criticism of this new Putnik soon became loud, since the Agency was perceived as encroaching on the rights of republican agencies. The fact that the administrative board of the new Agency had virtually no influence on its operative apparatus led to serious internal strife. Moreover, the Agency dealt with commercial tasks that had not been scheduled at its conception and became *de facto* a centralized tourist agency.⁷¹

This monopoly did not last. In autumn 1952, the Federal Economic Council criticized the work of the Agency after decentralization. In December of the same year, Milan Apih also voiced his criticism of the "centrifugal tendency" of the Agency he had defended a year and

⁶⁷ Apih (1951, pp. 57–60). Milan Apih, director of the Committee for Tourism in 1951, was made director of the Main Department of Tourism in 1952.

⁶⁸ Barbić, the director of the Croatian Main Department of Tourism and Hotel Management, heavily criticized Putnik as being a fully centralized institution that had unhealthy relations with hotels. He explained that Putnik treated hotels as subordinates, and not as equal partners. HDA, f. 1103/2 (Glavna uprava za turizam i ugostiteljstvo NRH), Letter (6 June 1951) to the Croatian Economic Council.

⁶⁹ Zajednica preduzeća za saobraćaj putnika i turista Putnik or Agencija Putnik.

⁷⁰ Marovt (1951b, p. 342). Although he assessed the Agency positively, he acknowledged that many aspects required improvement, and that successors of former central direction had occasionally attempted to preserve former prerogatives.

⁷¹ HDA, f. 1103/11, Position of the administrative committee of the agency Putnik (10 November 1952). Reports of meetings of the administrative committee held in August and early November 1952.

a half before. In this vein, he advocated the thorough and effective decentralization of Putnik.⁷² Many articles in the 1952 autumn and winter issues of *Turizam i ugostiteljstvo* put forward proposals for Putnik and the restructuring of tourism. Apih summed up this issue by acknowledging in late 1952 that the ultimate tourism organization that would correspond to socialist principles of organization had yet to be invented.⁷³ Worries of a return to centralized methods were also on the increase since the Agency's administrative board reiterated, in autumn 1952, that the challenging issue of foreign tourism called for a common operative structure.⁷⁴ Finally, in November 1952, a meeting of delegates from Federal and Republic Economic Councils decided that all Putnik enterprises and major hotels were entitled to settle arrangements with foreign tourists and agencies.⁷⁵ In 1953, the Yugoslav government introduced a decree on foreign trade that applied to major tourist agencies, and accordingly abolished the Agency.⁷⁶ All enterprises were therefore in a position to deal with foreign tourism as long as they fulfilled certain conditions.⁷⁷ Atypical for a socialist country, this measure was tantamount to a turning point in the promotion of Yugoslavia abroad. Promotional work would no longer be conducted solely under the jurisdiction of diplomatic services, federal bodies such as the Department of Information, or the Belgrade-based Putnik, but by several tourist agencies with varying regional and republican obligations.

Implementation of their prerogatives and fully-fledged decentralization took time. Although the national travel agency Putnik was legitimately decentralized in July 1951, republican branch offices only gained autonomy around 1953–1954.⁷⁸ The process was launched in

⁷² Apih (1952).

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ HDA, f. 1103/11, Position of the administrative committee of the agency Putnik (10 November 1952).

⁷⁵ HDA, f. 1103/11, conclusions drawn on 5 December 1952. Several issues of *Turizam i ugostiteljstvo* discussed the topic. It was suggested in No. 8 (August 1952) that hotels negotiate directly with foreign firms.

⁷⁶ Vukonić (2005, p. 144).

⁷⁷ “Против монопола у туристичком саобраћају, Основано је Удружење предузећа за саобраћај путника и туриста,” *Туристичке новости* 4 (1953), p. 1.

⁷⁸ Observation made by Vladan Krajčević at an interview held in Belgrade, on 21 September 2007.

1951 but took several years to be fully implemented. Following decentralization, the former Putnik branches were renamed, e.g., Putnik-Zagreb, Putnik-Ljubljana, Putnik-Split. These republican-based agencies would first receive more telling names in the course of the following years. Putnik-Ljubljana became the agency Kompas, Putnik in Rijeka turned into Kvarner Express, Putnik in Split was transformed into Dalmacijaturist, and Putnik in Dubrovnik was renamed Atlas. Putnik-Zagreb merged with the tourist agency Centroturist and became Generalturist in 1963, while Putnik-Belgrade retained the original name of "Putnik."

Decentralization and Propaganda: A Thorny Issue

The debate revolving around the question of decentralization in the case of Putnik ultimately touched on the issue of propaganda aimed at foreigners. The emerging debate shows conflicting visions, not only in the sphere of tourism but also in the political landscape of Yugoslavia.

Several authors, such as the tourism management expert Čermak,⁷⁹ argued in *Vesnik turizma i ugostiteljstva* that propaganda should come from the centre if coordination and rational thought were to gain the upper hand. They claimed that coordination would not disappear with decentralization and urged that the promotion of contrasts—in terms of climate, landscape, and cultures—would be best achieved through collective coordination undertaken by the Main Department for Tourism.⁸⁰ Čermak asked the rhetorical question as to where republics less developed in terms of tourism, such as Macedonia or Bosnia, would be if individual, republican-based propaganda had priority over the common effort. He claimed that separate propaganda would put forward secondary themes, thereby weakening the overall impact. Čermak favored a propaganda profile for foreigners that referred to Yugoslavia as a whole, as well as to the individual republics. In his articles published in 1951 and 1952, Čermak rebuffed critiques in the same journal that asked where this fear—concerning the potential right of local hotels and associations to publish their own brochures for foreign tourists—came from.

⁷⁹ Employee at the Institute for the Advancement of Tourism and Hotel Management (Zavod za unapređenje turizma i ugostiteljstva).

⁸⁰ Čermak (1951, pp. 244–6; 1952, pp. 37–9).

Another author, Apold, also a proponent of a centrally-planned promotional apparatus, advocated that propaganda on Yugoslavia produced by the republics would cause havoc and leave the target group with a fuzzy image of Yugoslavia. Apold took the example of a brochure entitled *Naš Jadran*.⁸¹ He explained, without displeasure, that a foreign tourist agency had renamed the brochure *A girl with a Serbian boy* and that it would be known abroad from now on under this title. Apold made clear that foreigners had not changed the name because they were unaware that Serbia was not situated on the coast or that the hat worn by the child was not part of the traditional Serbian costume. They did so, he continued, because they had the impression that Yugoslavia as a whole was sending a message that conveyed not only images of sunbathing and recreation on the Adriatic coast but of the overall natural beauty of Yugoslavia, in other words, of its hinterland as well. Apold pointed out that in this sense foreigners had realized that both individual republics as well as the “new” Yugoslavia as a whole was being presented as worth a visit.⁸²

The promotion of Yugoslav oneness, as Čermak suggested, would level out the tourist significance of each republic into units of equal measure. Čermak’s appeal remained a dead letter. By the early 1950s, tourist associations from the republics of Croatia and Slovenia had already begun to publish guidebooks and brochures promoting their own republics in foreign languages. This early republican-based production was due to improved printing equipment, staff more experimented in tourism, and the significance attached to these regions for tourism.⁸³ A rare attempt at compiling a bibliography of all promotional guidebooks published by the Yugoslav Tourist Association between 1945 and 1957 was carried out in 1958.⁸⁴ Table 2 presents the evolution of tourist brochures and guidebooks intended for foreign markets between 1951 and 1957.

⁸¹ Main Department for tourism Hotel Management for Yugoslavia (Glavna uprava za TUG—FNRJ).

⁸² Apold (1952, p. 425).

⁸³ Publishing dynamism in Slovenia, at least for domestically focused tourist publications, was explained in 1949 by better technical opportunities. AJ, f. 19/186/1702.

⁸⁴ Trajković (1958). This compilation is incomplete, however, since I found other brochures that were not included in the bibliography. Table 2 is exclusively drawn from the 1958 compilation.

Table 2. *Number of brochures and guidebooks according to their republican or Yugoslav focus published in foreign languages (German, English, or French) between 1951 and 1957.*⁸⁵

	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	Total
BiH	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	5
Croatia	1	1	5	8	2	4	6	27
Macedonia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Montenegro	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3
Serbia	0	3	2	2	3	2	0	12
Slovenia	1	1	2	2	5	2	0	13
Yugoslavia	0	4	5	2	5	7	7	30

Although the number of pan-Yugoslav publications is significant, it was outrun by those with a republican focus. This compilation gives an idea of the development of publishing activities, whose take-off in 1952–1953 coincided with the growth of foreign visitors and overnights. The goal of presenting Yugoslavia as a unit, however, was by no means abandoned. In late 1952, for example, Milan Apih endorsed the creation of the Yugoslav Tourist Association (*Turistički Savez Jugoslavije, TSJ*), which would unite factors that contribute to the development of tourism. The *TSJ* was to become the highest tourist institution and would be in charge of propaganda across the board both at home and abroad. Addressing those opposed to such a federal organ, he declared that tourism was more than a commercial business and that Yugoslavia, as the most progressive socialist country, must be aptly promoted abroad.⁸⁶

The *TSJ* was finally founded in April 1953, and was responsible for the propaganda that served “general Yugoslav interests” abroad for the entire socialist period. The task was carried out by a network of Yugoslav tourist offices and targeted the principal cities of Western Europe.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Source: Trajković (1958, pp. 515–28).

⁸⁶ Apih (1952, pp. 548–9).

⁸⁷ Propaganda remained one of the main tasks of the *TSJ*, which spent around 80 percent of its budget on this area. Source: Čulić (1965, p. 162). By the end of 1953, the *TSJ* had tourist offices in Vienna, Frankfurt, Paris, Stockholm, London, and New York. Three other cities (Hague, Zurich, Rome) had been added to the list by 1963.

Besides purely informative brochures (including regulations, prices, and conditions for visiting Yugoslavia), the *TSJ* also published other brochures in the 1950s, highlighting Yugoslavia as a federation of nations with vibrant contrasts and an abundance of scenic landscapes. The branding of the country's oneness is also to be found in attempts to find a common denominator. One example was the brochure published in 1958 entitled *Jugoslavija*. Similarities were established between Serbian and Macedonian monasteries and the Church of St. Donat in Zadar; their architectural non-conformism, which can also be found in the fields of law, religion, art, and languages, reached its "most brilliant expression" during the Second World War, according to the brochure, and in the creation of a new socialist collectivity.⁸⁸ Most *TSJ* publications were given an overall Yugoslav spin at the expense of a republican or regional focus. Ultimately, the production of republican, local, or city-based tourist associations produced far more material than the *TSJ*. In the long run, the latter became somewhat marginalized, as suggested by the titles of guidebooks published in the 1970s, which tended to have a republican focus.

This process illustrates the tension inherent in the tourist branding of Yugoslavia. The issue of decentralization involved a set of thorny questions, such as those concerning responsibility for foreign tourism and propaganda. The issue of propaganda was partly solved by the foundation of the *TSJ*. On the one hand, republican and locally based associations were free to produce their own material, while the *TSJ*, mainly financed by the federal budget, conducted promotional work of a non-commercial nature in the interests of the federation as a whole. Yet, the image of Yugoslavia as a progressive socialist country with progressive national and labor policies was ultimately sacrificed for the image of a Mediterranean coastline destination.

Conclusion

The early 1950s was a period of transition in Yugoslavia. While the organization of tourism was dependent on the changes that occurred, by the same token its exploration provides an interesting prism to understand the mechanisms at work in Yugoslavia. My analysis has

⁸⁸ Čulić (1958).

focused on the early 1950s because it was precisely during this period that the development of international tourism in Yugoslavia truly began. The simultaneous and quite massive presence of tourists from both East and West was one of its more notable features.

An ideological spin was ascribed to visits by foreigners to Yugoslavia in 1949–1950, as the motto “come and see the truth” and the importance surrounding Jean Cassou’s trip in the summer of 1949 reveal. A specific political rationale was advocated in support of foreign tourism, as the speeches of Bebler and Kardelj suggest. The Yugoslav leadership may have hesitated for a brief moment in late 1948 as to whether foreign tourism should be promoted or not. However, the ambiguity was short-lived. Yugoslavia adopted an explicitly positive stance towards foreign tourism as early as 1949, and maintained this position throughout the entire period of socialism. Tito’s government experienced renewed legitimacy as a result of Yugoslavia’s openness to international tourism, while the campaign against the Kominform continued. Political motives were also the driving force behind the resumption of tourist relations with the USSR and the people’s democracies, although this renewal did not take place until the summer of 1956, since it relied on the international state of affairs. Yugoslavia certainly stood out with its openness towards Western tourism, ahead of other socialist regimes by at least a decade. Moreover, when other socialist countries began to practice international tourism on a larger scale in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Yugoslavia was once again to the fore, opening the borders so that its citizens could work and travel in substantial numbers in Western Europe.⁸⁹ I refrain, however, from seeing this development as exceptional in itself. The development of international tourism in Yugoslavia was characterized by a degree of continuity, as evidenced in the stability of Yugoslav policies towards foreign tourism and the steady stream of Czechoslovak tourists throughout the twentieth century despite the political clash of 1948–1955. Although the overused image of Yugoslav tourism, depicting the country as pro-East prior to 1948 and subsequently as pro-West, is valid for the most part, this portrayal requires, as already explained, the addition of several nuances.

⁸⁹ See for both issues e.g. Zimmerman (1987).

The political rationale behind Yugoslavia's invitation to the outside world rapidly lost in significance as the economic importance attached to tourism in the 1950s increased. The development of international tourism in Yugoslavia should be seen as an expression of economic pragmatism and a further attempt at integration into global economic networks.

It was my endeavor to provide a political reading of international tourism in socialist Yugoslavia; the example of the decentralization of Putnik allowed me to carry the analysis further.⁹⁰ The branding of Yugoslavia abroad was complex: how was the Yugoslav hinterland to be promoted when the target of most tourist fluxes was the coastline? This issue was discussed repeatedly during the reorganization of Putnik. Numerous Yugoslav tourism experts considered that the task of propaganda abroad should be centrally designed to secure foreign fluxes to the hinterland and not simply to the coast. Understandably, the centralist propaganda concept gave rise to discontent. As the process of decentralization continued, the notion was set aside in favor of regional or republican hotels and tourist associations. A solution to the problem raised by the propaganda used abroad was reached in 1953 with the foundation of the Tourist Association of Yugoslavia, which remained in charge of the non-commercial promotion of Yugoslavia abroad throughout the socialist era.

On the whole, the study of tourism allows us to explore facets of socialist regimes that are frequently understudied. The Cold War, as has been remarked elsewhere, was by no means purely an arms race.⁹¹ Not surprisingly, when international tourism increased in the 1950s and reinforced Yugoslavia's legitimacy, Yugoslav citizens began to travel abroad more frequently.⁹² The opening of Yugoslavia to Western tourists was a determining factor in increasing the mobility of Yugoslav citizens. Regardless of recurring problems in the organization of

⁹⁰ It is worth mentioning that the distribution of income from foreign tourism was an acute problem that fostered opposition between republics due to the fact that visitors from abroad were largely concentrated on the coast. This topic is beyond the scope of this article.

⁹¹ Baranowski and Furlough (2001).

⁹² Statistics from the Yugoslav Ministry of Interior indicate that the number of Yugoslav citizens who travelled abroad for private reasons rose by 508

international tourism, it can be argued that Yugoslavia's openness was crucial to its official recognition, an aspect that strengthened its position in the 1950s and 1960s. In a talk on tourism with Yugoslav officials in September 1963, members of Khrushchev's delegation voiced their criticism of Soviet tourism. They asked how it was possible that Yugoslav citizens could travel freely and Soviet citizens could not. The official explanation of why Soviet tourists were unable to visit Yugoslavia was lack of financial means. However, unofficial discussions revealed that the Soviet leadership could not allow its citizens to travel freely because the differences in living standards would be to the Soviet Union's disadvantage.⁹³ Although the ideological spin ascribed to tourism in Yugoslavia declined slightly during the thaw period of the 1950s, the last example indicates that it never completely lost ground.

percent between 1956 and 1964. 73,756 citizens travelled in 1956, 153,842 in 1960, and 448,544 in 1964. Source: Mazi (1965, pp. 144–5).

⁹³ AJ, f. 580/1, "Informacija o razgovorima sa pratnjom druga Hruščova na temu turizma" (21 September 1963).

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Travelling to the Birthplace of “the Greatest Son of Yugoslav Nations”

The Construction of Kumrovec as a Political Tourism Destination¹

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Introduction

“The small village of Kumrovec where Tito was born has become a favorite excursion destination for Yugoslavs and many guests from abroad who wish to see Josip Broz’s native home, his native house, and the milieu in which he spent his childhood.”² This is how a socialist-era tourist guide with the title Memorial Park Kumrovec described the countryside showcase of a stable and prosperous “land of workers and peasants,” as the former Yugoslavia was defined in official discourse. According to this guide, at the beginning of the 1980s some 500,000 people every year came to Kumrovec, a village in north-western Croatia.³ The documentation of the open-air museum in Kumrovec indicated even more far-reaching drawing power—the annual number of some 500,000 to 600,000 visitors in the 1970s rose between 1981 and 1984, the period immediately after Tito’s death in 1980, to approximately one and a half million people per annum.⁴ But how can a village that at the beginning of the twentieth century had approximately

¹ The data presented in this article results from archival and field research conducted within the international project “Political Places in Change: the Kumrovec Case,” led by Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl and Nevena Škrbić Alempijević. See Škrbić Alempijević and Mathiesen Hjemdahl (2006).

² All translations are ours. Mitić (1982, p. 21).

³ Ibid.

⁴ In the following period, the number of visitors declined in accordance with political and social changes: from 1985 to 1987 around one million people were recorded, in the following two years half a million, in 1990 some 200,000 people, and in 1991 less than 10,000 (source: unpublished register of visitors to the “Old Village” Museum in Kumrovec).

thirty houses with 250 inhabitants that was “located in the backwoods of the Hrvatsko Zagorje region, several hours walk from the previous district centre of Klanjec” and far from the seaside and off the well-beaten tourist track, obtain such a prominent position as a Yugoslav tourist destination? Marijana Gušić, the first person in charge of designing the place as a memorial site attractive for the public, readily provided an answer as to why, by the mid-1980s, Kumrovec had according to official representation “risen to the world’s range of vision”:

Due to the fact that in 1892, Josip Broz Tito, a great man of our epoch, the initiator of superior striving towards a more worthy existence for all mankind, for all the peoples of the world’s globe, was born in that village. The birth house of comrade Tito, situated in the centre of Kumrovec, is of unique and precious value. Preserved in the authentic state of Tito’s early years, nowadays it is arranged as the Memorial Museum of Marshal Tito. The exhibits of this institution correspond to our current social demands, since, apart from its museological contents, this museum represents an eminent means of ideological upbringing for our (socialist) man, especially our youth.⁵

From the 1950s to the end of the 1980s, Kumrovec thus functioned as a topos where fundamental national myths were evoked and relived with each visit. The heart of the site, the house in which Josip Broz Tito was born, was opened to the public in 1953. It has functioned as part of the Kumrovec open-air museum, the first and only such museum founded in Yugoslavia up to the present. The aim of this article is to present and discuss the construction and constructors of this political-tourism destination. We analyze the infrastructure built to imbue Kumrovec with new political content and to meet the needs and expectations of visitors. The article also describes how the media conveyed the official appeal to feel the sense of Tito’s birthplace.⁶ We

⁵ Marijana Gušić, *The Village of Kumrovec: A Historic Monument*. Personal records of Marijana Gušić 2428, signature 21/1986, Box 4, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, s. a., p. 1.

⁶ This part of the analysis is based on the records of Marijana Gušić, which are stored in the Croatian State Archive in Zagreb, as well as on the documentation of the “Old Village” Museum in Kumrovec. It further draws on a fragmentary collection from the former Political School in Kumrovec,

look at the celebrations and practices through which social memory, approached as a set of idealized images of a common "glorious past" depicting the heroism of partisans involved in the liberation of Yugoslavia during the Second World War and the progressive character of the new socialist state, was brought to life by visitors.⁷

In the second part, the analysis turns to how visitors engaged with the site as an embodiment of the Yugoslav state, a vital clue to self-identification, an imperative in the school curriculum, or just a convenient spot to spend a weekend. The impressions noted in the visitors' books placed in Tito's house of birth served as a prism through which peoples' multi-vocal and individual ways of experiencing their trips to Kumrovec were observed. Although there are numerous inscriptions written by foreign visitors, usually just stating their names and the country from which they came, notes written in the languages of different Yugoslav nations and nationalities vastly prevail. Therefore, we mainly focus on the texts of Yugoslav visitors, written from 1946 to 1989. The analysis encompasses very different texts and authors: there are inscriptions by political delegations and collective signatures by pensioners' associations, trade unions, and other institutions organizing excursions to Kumrovec. In addition, there are also long rows of names of school children from all over Yugoslavia, as well as signatures and comments written by individuals who chose to come on their own or with family and friends. Through their thoughts, reminiscences, and points of view, we analyze the prominent place that this physically small, but symbolically enormous, village in Zagorje obtained in their worldview. In these countless pages, Tito's birthplace features consistently as a paramount destination providing a crucial lesson in recent history for the visitor.

Kumrovec can be seen as a political tourism destination. In the context of socialist Yugoslavia, we take the term "political tourism" to mean visits to places proclaimed to be the supreme embodiment of

part of which is kept in the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb, newspapers from the socialist period, and tourist brochures connected to Kumrovec. Significant material was gathered through qualitative research in 2005, primarily through interviews with people working at that time in various institutions in Kumrovec.

⁷ Gillis (1994).

core ideological concepts and nation-building efforts. Thus, political tourism included travel to memorial sites connected with the partisan struggle or victims of the Second World War, experiencing the settings of historical meetings that laid the foundations of the Yugoslav state, or visits to the places where figures who played a vital role in this process were born or died. Kumrovec was, and still is, one of such significant “realms of memory,” as Pierre Nora would put it, constructed by the political elite of the time “because there are no longer any milieux de memoire, settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience.”⁸ However, we do not claim that each visit to such a memorial site was driven by ideology. The reasons for coming to Kumrovec and the practices performed there were a matter of individual interpretation and can be hardly reduced to a single common denominator: some visitors simply described the trip as a nice way to spend a weekend away from the city, in the green landscape of Zagorje.

Travelers to Kumrovec: Tourists or “Believers”?

The 1982 tourist brochure brought forth another issue: it defined Kumrovec as an “excursion destination.” It included photographs of the hilly scenery of the Zagorje region, with picturesque cottages scattered over the green slopes. The impression of rural pastoral was strengthened by images from the open-air museum in Kumrovec, which aimed to conserve the village architecture as well as its way of life from the turn of the twentieth century. Some of the photographs, however, showed quite contrary images depicting motifs linked to industrialization and modernization. We thus come across two different visual identities in connection with Kumrovec: one leaning on memories of the past and the simplicity of a traditional way of life, and the other aimed towards the future through the material embodiments of progress. However, these two tendencies were not counteractive; they actually drew on the same ideological content, serving as evidence of state power. Through its modern architecture and industry, Kumrovec, the showcase of Yugoslavia as a whole, was placed symbolically in “the progressive part of the world.” Local heritage, on the other hand, was seen as a pebble in the rich mosaic of “Yugoslav folk art,” through

⁸ Nora (1996, p. 1).



Figure 1. Youth (omladinci) from Trepče reach Kumrovec, 1983⁹

which the cherished idea of “brotherhood and unity,” of reinforcing strength by bringing together different traditions, was expressed.

The brochure also included visitor statistics, information on accommodation, restaurant and conference facilities, descriptions of the main sights, and the promotion of the destination through the media—all these factors defined Kumrovec as a kind of tourist brand in the frame of socialist Yugoslavia. Along with the stress on its symbolic role in nation-building, cultural experts and local authorities were aware of the tourism dimension of the site from the very beginning of its restructuring in the 1950s. As Marijana Gušić pointed out in 1956, “[t]he locality is entrusted with more and more new tasks, primarily to preserve the social and historical environment and to become an interesting and vivid tourist attraction through this archaic image.”¹⁰ Interest was indeed triggered among visitors, who mostly arrived on day trips, most frequently on prominent national holidays, like Labor Day (1 May), the Day of Youth (the celebration of Tito’s pro-

⁹ Source: documentation from the “Old Village” Museum, Kumrovec.

¹⁰ Marijana Gušić, *Project for the Renovation of the Ancient Kumrovec Locality*. Personal records of Marijana Gušić 2428, signature 21/1986, Box 4, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, 1956. See also Šprem Lovrić (2005, p. 33).

claimed birthday on 25 May), the Day of the Republic (29 November) and the Day of the Yugoslav People's Army (22 December). They reached the place by regular daily buses, by direct train to Kumrovec¹¹ or, as was the case with political delegations in particular, by car. Not all means of getting to Kumrovec were as comfortable as these: schools, youth organizations, and local municipalities frequently organized hikes through Tito's home region, particularly as an extra-curricular activity for young people.¹²

The organization of trips was often taken care of by institutions and influential associations. According to a management decision taken in 1954, the Arts and Crafts Museum in Zagreb, whose experts were in charge of transforming Tito's house of birth back into its original shape, "will provide guides and organize transport from Zagreb to Kumrovec."¹³ Later on, trade unions and schools played an important role in bringing Kumrovec closer to the inhabitants of other Yugoslav republics. "Kumrovec and political tourism were almost synonyms at that time," Branka Šprem Lovrić, the current head of the open-air museum in Kumrovec, concluded in an interview in 2005.¹⁴

As in any other desirable, though not necessarily political, tourism location, Kumrovec's popularity with—primarily Yugoslav—visitors had a huge impact on the local community. In the 1950s, "the residents of Kumrovec recognized the beginnings of tourism in their village and began to sell homemade food and drinks, handcrafted artifacts in the form of souvenirs, and to rent out their modest homes for overnight stays."¹⁵

Why is it then that we, as cultural anthropologists, are uncomfortable with using the term "tourism" in connection with Kumrovec?

¹¹ This Zagreb–Kumrovec railway line was abolished in the 1990s; nowadays travelers have to change to buses in Savski Marof.

¹² This motif was taken up by the motion picture *Tito and I*, produced by Goran Marković in 1992. The comedy presents a ten-year-old living in Belgrade in the 1950s who wins a competition for the most affectionate writing dedicated to Tito. However, his award—participation in a march from Zagreb to Tito's birthplace—turns out not to be as ideal as the boy had imagined.

¹³ Majnarić Radošević (2005, p. 41).

¹⁴ The interview was conducted by Nevena Škrbić Alempijević, Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl, and Marija Kulišić.

¹⁵ Šarić (2005, p. 184).

According to the *emic* interpretation, i.e., one that focuses on the visitor's perception of the place, the material we gathered in Kumrovec suggests that people rarely defined the trip to the village as something for tourists. People commonly view tourism as an inconsequential and superficial activity. Thus, the assumption that people coming to Kumrovec were on a tourist visit would seem, from their own point of view, to undermine their real motivation for the trip. Of course, there are as many practices and narratives behind individual experiences of Kumrovec as there are people visiting it. Still, it was possible to spot a common denominator. Along with the desire to have a break, to spend time in pristine nature, to enjoy time with one's peers, colleagues from work, family, or sweetheart, there was a thread connecting all these trips: people were travelling to the birthplace of their political leader. This is how a former curator of the Kumrovec Memorial Park summed up the construction of Kumrovec as a site of political reverence in 2005:¹⁶ "Everything that was accomplished in Kumrovec served the political doctrine, so that children would know that Tito was the greatest, that Tito was their leader, that the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia is what we have to keep together. Everything had that political role here."

While conducting field research in Kumrovec on the Day of Youth¹⁷ celebration in 2004, we talked with participants of the celebration

¹⁶ The interview was conducted by Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl and Tihana Rubić.

¹⁷ The Day of Youth, 25 May, was the Yugoslav state holiday on which Tito's alleged birthday was celebrated. His actual date of birth was 7 May, and there are several interpretations as to why the celebration was moved to the 25th. According to one version, Tito used false documents in the course of his revolutionary activity, which stated the 25th as his birthday. According to another version, Hitler decided to "congratulate" Tito by organizing an offensive against Drvar on 25 May 1944. Tito was nearly killed during that operation, so in a way he was "reborn" on this date. See Krklec (1980, p. 13). The Day of Youth was celebrated by people conveying gifts and good wishes to their leader, by the bearing of a baton (*štafeta*) containing birthday messages through all the Yugoslav republics, and finally by grand stadium events where the *štafeta* was delivered to the president. The Day of Youth is no longer on the list of public holidays in Croatia today. However, it is still marked informally in Kumrovec. These celebrations are organized by "Josip Broz Tito" associations and associations of "antifascist fighters."

about their memories and the feelings they had experienced during their visits to Kumrovec in the past, but also about their attitude to recent trips. The majority preferred to wave away easy-going, relaxed interpretations of their visit. They were there for a serious matter, not a mere tourist trip. Some of them were surprised that ethnological research, not related to the traditional heritage of Zagorje, could be carried out in Kumrovec. People had come to Kumrovec neither as tourists nor as researchers deconstructing cultural practices and the building of political myths: they had arrived as believers.¹⁸

In this article, we apply terms acquired from the anthropology of tourism and discuss strategies of creating a tourism destination using the example of Kumrovec. However, we bear in mind that categories defined from the outside by “experts” do not necessarily correspond to the worldview of the “users,” i.e., people travelling to Kumrovec. It is their way of organizing and expressing their experiences of being there that makes up the more significant part of our study.

Creating the Core Attraction: Preparing Tito’s House of Birth for Visitors

The first space that underwent major redefinition in accordance with the socialist symbolic system was the house in which Josip Broz was born. In 1953, it was opened for the public as the Marshall Tito Memorial Museum with ethnologist Marijana Gušić as its founder.¹⁹ According to Tito’s biographer Vladimir Dedijer, Gušić took full charge of the museum in Kumrovec from 1954, on the demand of Josip Broz himself. He had apparently gained a positive impression of Gušić’s work by visiting her exhibition of folk artifacts mounted at the headquarters of *Maršalat*. By displaying representative objects from all the Yugoslav republics side by side, Gušić had given body to the concept of reinforcing the country’s spirit through joining national differences together and directing them towards a common goal.²⁰

¹⁸ On Kumrovec as a focus of ritualized behavior exhibiting traces of consecration despite its embedding in Marxist doctrine (marking it as completely non-religious), see Belaj (2006).

¹⁹ Šprem Lovrić (2005, p. 30).

²⁰ Dedijer (1981, p. 209).

We can observe two parallel tendencies in Gušić's work. On the one hand, her allegiance to the existing political system (she had participated in the antifascist movement herself), and her obvious wish to make the museum worthy of Tito's person and deeds, as well as to turn it into a gathering place for political soulmates. On the other hand, it seems that her museological agenda often gained priority: Marijana Gušić skillfully used official rhetoric that appealed to the authorities, and symbols nobody dared to oppose, in order to apply contemporary museological approaches. These were based on the Scandinavian Skansen model.²¹ Gušić used the unique position of Kumrovec to turn it into the first open-air museum in the whole of socialist Yugoslavia, and into a monument to the rural way of life of that region at the turn of the twentieth century. From the 1950s to the 1970s she included more and more cottages into the expanded frame of the museum and finally formed an entire preserved village. In order to achieve this, she needed to present the village as a setting of the basic way of life and hardships that led to the embedding of rare qualities into Tito's personality. At the core of the "ethno-park," as Gušić described it, we find the Memorial Museum of Josip Broz Tito, his house of birth. Tito's life was present in each aspect of the project, as the central attraction of the village as a whole. This was pointed out as the very reason for the establishment of the museum by Gušić herself:

The institution of the Old Village should neither serve only as an ethnographic attraction, nor as some newly-founded Croatian open-air museum, nor as an ethno-museum of Hrvatsko Zagorje, but exclusively as an illustration of living surroundings, the focus of which is its main and central object, and that is Marshall Tito's house of birth.²²

Tito's two life stages were, and still are, depicted in the house. In the right wing, the humble home of the Broz family at the time of Tito's early childhood was reconstructed by using, wherever possible, original objects belonging to the household or by substituting them with

²¹ Kristić (2006).

²² Marijana Gušić, *Program of Designing the Old Village Kumrovec*. Personal records of Marijana Gušić 2428, signature 21/1986, Box 4, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, 1973, pp. 9–10.

corresponding artifacts gathered through field research. This stress on the authenticity of the objects used by the Broz family and Tito himself was reflected in the popular media, especially in connection with the central topos of the house: the cradle in which the Marshall had been rocked. As one newspaper report described the scene: “By the stove there is a pleasant corner—the mother’s place. There is a spinning wheel, a chair and a cradle. The little child was to be near his mother. The cradle is real, from the President’s childhood.”²³ The left part of the house was dedicated to Tito’s education, the start of his revolutionary activities, his prosecution and time in jail, and further to his leadership of the antifascist struggle and his later political engagement.

During the three decades of her work on this project, Marijana Gušić attempted to conserve and display the rural architectonic heritage of Hrvatsko Zagorje by including the preserved houses and farm buildings of Kumrovec in the museum’s premises. Yet the museum also communicated the clear ideological appeal to witness “the way barefoot boys of Zagorje found their path into the world, leaving their poor homes behind, fled from their destitute village, carrying rebellion in their chests, as well as determination to attain a happier future for new generations with their blisters.” Furthermore, the museum would “tell of the way in which one of those fledglings has succeeded in getting to the forefront of the world battle for peace, for the future of humanity...”²⁴ Among other goals, the museum’s purpose was educational: visitors should gain insight into the simple but idyllic rural life of the inhabitants of Hrvatsko Zagorje, as experienced by the Broz family, as well as into Tito’s undisputed importance on the global level, his participation in the antifascist struggle, his contribution to world peace, and the building of Yugoslav socialism. The museum’s educational function was especially underlined by school excursions. Trips to Kumrovec were, whenever possible, an obligatory part of the school curriculum, especially at primary school level. The visit would be accompanied by lectures on recent history and Yugoslav society. Josip Broz’s house of birth and the *Spomendom*, the House of Veterans

²³ Konjhodžić (1955).

²⁴ Marijana Gušić, *The Village of Kumrovec: A Historic Monument*. Personal records of Marijana Gušić 2428, signature 21/1986, Box 4, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, s. a., p. 7.

of the National Liberation War and of the Yugoslav youth organization, represented two major stops during these trips. In *Spomendom*, partisan films or documentaries about the Second World War and Tito’s later visits to the non-aligned countries were screened.

The Construction of Kumrovec as a Political Tourism Destination

The narrative produced at the top of the political hierarchy and that totally restructured Kumrovec claimed that although this was the very place where “in a rocking cradle, the seventh child of Franjo and Marija Broz, Tito, the giant of our era, was raised,”²⁵ there was nothing special about the change the place was undergoing. As stated in *Memorial Park Kumrovec*: “Following the liberation of the country, like many regions of our socialist homeland, Kumrovec has also changed its appearance, it has received new traffic infrastructure, new houses, and new cultural buildings.”²⁶ This seems quite an understatement when we observe the vast material changes that occurred in Kumrovec between the 1950s and the end of the 1980s as evidence of the new and modern era.²⁷ The entire place was acknowledged as a memorial site: in 1962, the Croatian National Trust listed it in its register of cultural monuments, and in 1963, Kumrovec entered the register of protected sites under the supervision of the Regional Department of Cultural Monument Conservation in Zagreb.²⁸

Numerous edifices were erected, like the Maršal Tito Primary School, built as early as 1956. This huge building, even equipped with its own television studio, secured space for a number of pupils three times higher the actual population of schoolchildren in Kumrovec and its surroundings.²⁹ However, it was not constructed only for regular school activities—it was also built as a platform for monumental celebrations

²⁵ Marijana Gušić, *The Village of Kumrovec: A Historic Monument*. Personal records of Marijana Gušić 2428, signature 21/1986, Box 4, Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, s. a., p. 2.

²⁶ Mitić (1982, p. 20).

²⁷ Mathiesen Hjemdahl and Škrbić Alempijević (2006a, p. 253).

²⁸ Mathiesen Hjemdahl and Škrbić Alempijević (2006b, p. 21).

²⁹ Šešerko (2006, p. 306).

of the Day of Youth and similar political mass gatherings. In the years to follow, Kumrovec grew both in size and significance. It became a centre of shared experiences for the younger generation where attitudes towards the country's history, the Party, and Tito were forged. The museological definition of Kumrovec as a preserved historical site did not hinder the reconstruction process. On the contrary, it contributed to a demand for buildings with a clear political agenda as well as others to serve accommodation purposes. Such a combination of the two is the *Spomendom* ("Memorial House"), which was considered a highlight of modern architecture at the time and declared the best work of architecture in the Socialist Republic of Croatia in 1974. Tito himself laid the cornerstone for the *Spomendom* and in his accompanying speech he concluded: "Brotherhood and unity will radiate from here, from this House, since veterans and young people from all parts of our country will come here."³⁰ The institution was defined as one of the imperative visits for Pioneers (the socialist organization for elementary school pupils from the age of 6 to 14) and *omladinci* (socialist youth from 14 to 18) from all over Yugoslavia. On their tours through Kumrovec, school children were regularly guided here and shown Partisan films or documentaries about socialism and Tito's reception in the non-aligned countries. Students and teachers of merit were chosen to attend the Political School,³¹ first organized within this complex until the larger and more modern Josip Broz Tito Political School of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was constructed nearby in 1981.

Monuments associated with the antifascist struggle and with socialism were also exhibited throughout Kumrovec, the most famous being the representation of Tito himself, a work of the sculptor Antun

³⁰ Mitić (1982, p. 20).

³¹ The curriculum of the Political School, commonly known as *Partijska škola* (the "Party School"), mainly offered additional training in one- to two-semester courses, after which the attendees obtained a certificate confirming their participation. Distinguished young members of the Party who were just completing their secondary education or were newly employed were recommended for enrolment. The first cohort was enrolled in 1975/76. Source: *Temporary List of Records: the Political School of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia "Josip Broz Tito."* Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, s. a., p. 1.

Augustinčić from 1948. The bronze statue portrays a life-size Josip Broz Tito in his army uniform and greatcoat, one leg pacing forward, hands clasped behind back, and gazing reflectively ahead. Along with Josip Broz’s house of birth, this monument was a focus of ritualized behavior in Kumrovec. Delegations approached the statue in a more structured way, while individuals tended to exhibit more personally devised ways of addressing it. The actions and gestures by which visitors approached it (the procession towards the statue, the laying down of flowers, how people touched the statue, saluted and even talked to it) indicate that visitors experienced the statue beyond its mere physical appearance, suggesting that it can be seen as a place of political pilgrimage.³²

In the course of time, several buildings underwent a functional change. One of them was a hotel refashioned into the Villa Kumrovec, an exclusive residence always ready to accommodate Tito, his family, and members of the Party. The school attended by the young Josip Broz was restructured into a memorial site, an unmissable spot for visitors, especially for children on school excursion to Kumrovec. On the other hand, some buildings that did not fit the destination’s new image were torn down, as was the case with the church of Saint Rocco, which stood on the top of the hill right above Villa Kumrovec³³ and was destroyed in 1964.



Figure 2. *Villa Kumrovec and the Church of Saint Rocco in the background, torn down in 1964*³⁴

One of the last changes to the landscape of Kumrovec was undertaken soon after Tito died, when 88 red maple trees commemorating and paying tribute to every year of his life were planted. As late as 1987, a monument in the form of a fountain was raised “to honor Youth.”

³² Belaj (2006, pp. 201–19).

³³ Kulišić (2006, p. 150).

³⁴ Source: documentation from the “Old Village” Museum, Kumrovec.

Media Attention on Kumrovec as the Place to Visit

The Yugoslav media often discussed the museum in Kumrovec; its founding, the gathering of authentic objects, the mounting of the permanent exhibition, and its opening to the public, even as early as 1952:

Is all this compatible? The presence of a tense, restless life of struggle, surrounded by dead museum exhibits. Little Josip Broz's cradle next to his mother's distaff and Augustinčić's bronze in the courtyard of Tito's house of birth? Or, is the persistence of memory so strong that, challenged by space and the objects in it, it brings images and figures back to life? Tito's village becomes a memorial museum, and his house of birth is only one of the monuments. To link the whole of Kumrovec, each courtyard, even the doorsteps, with the image of Tito, the memory of Tito, this was the primary task while reconstructing his house of birth into a memorial museum. This house had to be re-embedded into the village surroundings... (and) through reconstruction, brings it closer to all Kumrovec's inhabitants and unknown guests.³⁵

A need to travel to Kumrovec had to be created, however, before rivers of "unknown guests" would start flowing into the village. Simultaneously with its physical and symbolic restructuring, the place underwent its media construction. Daily and weekly newspapers, television news, documentaries and travel magazines regularly echoed the messages of this representative site and the importance of Kumrovec.³⁶ Tito's visits to his home village were favorite topics of media reports about Kumrovec. Tito was often shown strolling along village paths or climbing the neighboring hills. Apart from receiving official delegations in his villa, Tito meeting inhabitants of Kumrovec was a crucial motif of photos conveyed to the public. In these images, Tito was not featured as a distant authority, but as "one of us," albeit "the best among us," as a leader always ready to attend to the problems of ordinary people. Photographs show him sitting with villagers in the local inn, shaking hands with people bringing the cattle back from the pasture, or greeting them in their courtyards.

³⁵ Vojnović (1952).

³⁶ Radovani (2006).



Figure 3. *Scout camp in the field near Kumrovec on the Day of Youth in 1962*³⁷

Celebrations of the Day of Youth and similar national holidays were often reported as well. Sometimes, such reports were simply factual accounts of what had happened at the event. On the Day of Youth in 1965, the daily newspaper *Vjesnik* succinctly and informatively reported on the "traditional youth gathering" in Kumrovec: a youth choir performs in front of Tito's house of birth, a letter to Tito is read publicly, publishers present publications that fit the occasion, a radio program called "Meetings of the Youth" is broadcast, an exhibition of paintings opens, scouts light bonfires on the neighboring hills, and the thirteenth "partisan march" starts from the village.³⁸

However, when describing trips to Tito's home village, authors frequently leant towards impressionistic, lyrical, and intimate descriptions. The pastoral of Kumrovec's surroundings often served as a space in which a visitor could feel Tito's presence. The article headed, "In May

³⁷ Source: documentation from the "Old Village" Museum, Kumrovec.

³⁸ Vondraček (1965).

the Valley is Green in the Most Beautiful Way,” published in *Slobodna Dalmacija* in 1965, provided such a reading of Tito as having been brought forth by the picturesque landscape of Hrvatsko Zagorje. The reason for the special beauty of spring was the fact that it was time to celebrate Tito’s birthday in his native village. This was, in the author’s opinion, the best time to come to Kumrovec. A visitor would profit greatly from merely being in an ambience in which “a person is relieved of his worries, burdened only by beauty.” In such surroundings, “even old people’s wrinkles appear somehow fresh.” However, the natural imagery has a deeper ideological meaning: in his formative years, Tito was shaped by this landscape—“his warmth has come from this idyllic corner of Hrvatsko Zagorje”—so perhaps visitors could undergo a similar transformation, too. The journalist concluded that it is always beneficial to visit Kumrovec, since “here is where the spark of our one universal idea was generated.”³⁹

The invitation to Tito’s birthplace obviously found its way to the population, since “every year over half a million people who wish to see Tito’s native home visit Kumrovec. Thousands of visitors from children to well-known world statesmen have written their impressions in the visitors’ book.”⁴⁰

Visitors’ Books in Tito’s House of Birth: Tourists’ Inscriptions

“Three thick books of impressions, bound in leather, speak of the number of people who have passed through Tito’s birthplace in recent years, and show how thrilled they are with the insight into the Marshal’s life and his first place of residence.”⁴¹ This is how the Croatian daily newspaper *Vjesnik* wrote about the visitors’ books exhibited in Tito’s house of birth in Kumrovec in 1952: as media reflecting the voices of numerous visitors to this politically significant destination.

Indeed, more than 250 visitors’ books stored in the museum in Kumrovec, with the earliest dating from 1946, reflect the identity of Kumrovec in the socialist period as a well-visited Yugoslav tourist

³⁹ Šago (1965).

⁴⁰ Mitić (1982, p. 21).

⁴¹ Vojnović (1952).

destination. It is hard to categorize all the impressions recorded in these books, since they indicate a wide variety of feelings and stand-points, and are, like all texts, open to our contemporary interpretation. Some of the inscriptions appear to reflect ideological content by including some well-known socialist slogans like: *Smrt fašizmu—sloboda narodu!* ("Death to fascism—freedom to the people!") (1947) or *Druže Tito, mi ti se kunemo da sa tvoga puta ne skrenemo* ("Comrade Tito, we swear to you we will not turn away from your path") (1980, 1988). However, even in cases like these that appear to state clear ideological messages, our contemporary interpretation cannot ensure that they, and other statements, do not include other feelings, like irony or latent resistance to ideological uniformity. Thus, the texts must be considered as fragments, more or less ideologically marked, some very personal and presumably full of meaning for their authors, and some less ideologically burdened, like many of the children's texts and drawings.

In general, the texts verbalize a positive attitude towards Tito, but also towards Kumrovec and the museum. Some express joy and admiration, conveying pledges of loyalty to Tito, while others focus more on the museum's presentation. However, they all read Tito's presence in the landscape and this memorial site.

Visitors often addressed Tito directly in their texts, in phrases like: "our beloved teacher and marshal" (1947), "hero in the struggle (against fascism, for a socialist society, etc.) and at work" (1948), "fighter for peace and peaceful coexistence" (1965). Texts spoke of him as a "great person of those days" and "popular leader of all Yugoslav nations." Moreover, his name "inspires and gives new strength and energy" (1947). Tito was also poetically seen at the "helm of a ship with three-quarters of mankind on it in the world of peace" (1980). During his illness in 1980, visitors used the pages of the visitors' books to wish him a speedy recovery, and after his death they wrote numerous texts expressing great pain and sorrow for having lost "the great son of their nations, their father, leader, and dearest man" (1980). At the same time, visitors expressed pride to have lived in his time and pledged that they would continue his work, adhere to the principle of brotherhood and unity, and eternally follow his path of peace and non-alignment.

In this multitude of comments, a researcher can detect some of the visitors' motivations to travel to Tito's birthplace. The texts reveal Kumrovec as a place where people felt they could get close to Tito, a place where they could "speak" to him, a place for "meeting" with him, and for expressing their affection. Kumrovec itself, its material form and especially Tito's house of birth, were so strongly connected to him that Tito could be seen in all the objects. In a way, material was permeated with his presence.

The visitors' books in Tito's childhood home can be compared with similar books at other tourist sites, museums or similar institutions, but only to a certain extent. In some of the texts, authors did not directly address Tito but expressed their thoughts about the museum and its exhibits, thus resembling textual fragments found in other galleries or museums. One visitor, for example, just noted "[i]mpressive, unforgettable" (1988), while another wrote "[i]n this house everything is so nice that a person is truly refreshed and put in a good mood" (1965). Still, even the texts that reflected upon the museum itself are often imbued with Tito. The connection between the place and its famous resident becomes evident in visitors' impressions, such as: "Everything is beautiful just like Tito was too" (1988), "We always like to return here to see all the sights which remind us of the past and, believe us, everything is very nicely arranged" (1988). Tito's house of birth brought memories to life and allowed people to travel into the past, as one text stated: "It's nice to return to those times when Josip Broz created our better future!" (1988). It was also a place where one could find inspiration, a place where people could get to know Tito: "We have come here to get to know him better, to love him more!" (1989). Moreover, Tito was closer there to those who loved him: "It's necessary to come here and for a moment be close to you, our beloved Tito" (1989). Also, several remarks linked the modesty of this "small, peasant" cottage with Tito's qualities as a leader: "This quiet peasant home I have entered today confirms my conviction that only a man who is born in this kind of home can lead his nation into a happier and better future" (1947). The house itself and Kumrovec were seen as the starting point of Tito's great achievements, as the "source of our and a world legend" (1980), as a place where "he made his first steps, steps that later on in his future have shaped the path of our beautiful homeland" (1980).

In Search of Authenticity

Impressions also acknowledged the "original character" and "authenticity" of the museum: "Kumrovec, comrade Tito's house of birth and the rest need to be preserved in their original shape. Every embellishment would reduce the greatness of comrade Tito" (1965). Furthermore, the museum was recognized as an opportunity to learn about (an official version of) history: "I like the museum very much and it reminds me of things that I didn't experience personally, but inherited from our ancestors and our books" (1966). The importance of becoming acquainted with national history can be read in a school group's note: "A person must know one's history in order to look forward to one's future" (1980). As an open-air museum, Kumrovec offered an insight into the way of life in a Zagorje village at the turn of the twentieth century, through, for example, representations of rural architecture, farming, and handicrafts. Nevertheless, the remarks in the visitors' books clearly show that the entire village was deeply marked by its famous inhabitant, and that Tito was the symbol around which the whole image of Kumrovec as a tourism destination was built. Despite the fact that some exhibited objects were not strongly connected to Tito, he was in fact present in all of them.

Can Tito's presence in the entire display be understood as the main motivation for travelling to Kumrovec? Were tourists who chose Kumrovec as the destination of their trip on a quest for "authentic" experience? And, most importantly, what kind of authenticity awaited them in Kumrovec? The issue of authenticity is often brought up in connection with the work of ethnologists and cultural anthropologists, primarily when they analyze "traditional" cultural elements proclaimed to be autochthonous, recognizable, and valuable cultural features selected for conservation, reconstruction, or revival. However, apart from these connotations, the "heritage" exhibited in Kumrovec through the display in the ethnographic museum also had another, more distinctive, meaning. As the symbol of Kumrovec, representing the core idea of its socialist reconstruction, the figure of Tito vouched for the place's authenticity. Visitors assessed those material objects in Tito's house of birth that were apparently clearly connected to him as original and authentic. A note in one of the visitors' books stated, "I'm truly happy that a larger part of the tools and furniture he used is original.

My imagination is greatly moved and it can now sketch Tito's adventures from the past" (1965).

Anthropologists of tourism have dealt with the problem of authenticity to a great extent.⁴² They have formulated different, even opposite standpoints.⁴³ For instance, Daniel Boorstin⁴⁴ saw tourism as a prime example of the production of fake experiences, depicting tourists as finding pleasure in inauthentic attractions and gullibly enjoying pseudo-events constructed for them by their hosts. On the other hand, Dean MacCannell described tourists as embodiments of a demand for authenticity, in opposition to the superficiality of the contemporary way of life.⁴⁵

The notion of "authenticity" employed in this analysis of Kumrovec stems from Edward M. Bruner and is elaborated in his work on the New Salem Historic Site, a reconstructed village and outdoor museum at a site in Illinois where Abraham Lincoln lived in the 1830s.⁴⁶ Kumrovec and New Salem are comparable to a certain extent. Both sites owe their construction to the fact that famous national heroes lived there for a certain period of time and consequently they were seen to embody some important ideological meanings. The crucial difference, however, is that the museum in Kumrovec was opened during Tito's lifetime and his personal interest added to its construction considerably, as a guarantee of authenticity. Tito was even allegedly involved in choosing the creators of his birthplace memorial, by naming Marijana Gušić as the expert in charge of designing Kumrovec. The idea of restoring New Salem, on the other hand, appeared more than 30 years after Lincoln's assassination.⁴⁷ While we are aware of this fact as well as of other differences in, for instance, styles of representation at these two sites, the definitions of authenticity formulated by Bruner can be useful in dealing with questions concerning authenticity in Kumrovec.

In his work, Bruner discusses the meanings inscribed in the representation of New Salem as forming a prominent symbol of American history. His analysis centers on the diverse interpretations of the site by various groups involved in the contemporary life of New Salem,

⁴² Boorstin (1961); Cohen (1988); MacCannell (1999); Urry (2002).

⁴³ Chambers (2002, pp. 18–23).

⁴⁴ Boorstin (1961).

⁴⁵ MacCannell (1999).

⁴⁶ Bruner (2005a; 2005b).

⁴⁷ Bruner (2005a, p. 133).

especially those of tourists connected to their reasons for visiting this tourist attraction.⁴⁸ In considering New Salem as a site of conflicting meanings, Bruner pays great attention to the idea of authenticity and discerns four meanings that can be encompassed by the term. The first—*verisimilitude*—is a common objective of museum professionals in their efforts to produce a credible and convincing site that is believable to the public. According to the second—*genuineness*—, reconstructed New Salem is a complete simulation.⁴⁹ The third meaning—*originality*—involves the sense of the original as opposed to a copy. Here, New Salem's authenticity is ensured through original objects and one original building. The fourth sense of authenticity—*authority*—is connected to power relations, to the question of who is in a position to delegate an aura of authenticity to displayed material.⁵⁰

What Bruner particularly stresses when analyzing different layers of authenticity is the fact that authenticity is a contest⁵¹:

No longer is authenticity a property inherent in an object, forever fixed in time; instead it is a social process, a struggle in which competing interests argue for their own interpretations of history. Culture is seen as contested, emergent, and constructed, and agency and desire become part of the discourse. When actors use the term authenticity, ethnographers may then ask what segment of society has raised a doubt, what is no longer taken for granted, what are the societal struggles, and what are the cultural issues at work.⁵²

This understanding of authenticity, not fixed permanently to certain objects and places but renegotiated and re-embodied over and over again, can be applied to Kumrovec. Because the idea of authenticity acquires different interpretations depending on context and power relations, we can use it to explore the multiplicity of authenticities in Kumrovec.

⁴⁸ The tourists want to hear retellings of the great American dream, to celebrate America, to educate their children, to learn more about Lincoln and about frontier life on the prairie, to experience the site where it all happened, and to bring home photographs, souvenirs, and stories as memories of their visit." Bruner (2005a, p. 136).

⁴⁹ Bruner (2005b, p. 149).

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 150.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 155.

⁵² Ibid., p. 163.

Different Tourists—Different Authenticities

By investigating the changes that occurred in the architecture of Kumrovec after the Second World War and focusing on the construction of Kumrovec as a political tourism destination, the researcher can detect the intentions of the producers of new ideological meanings. During this process, the aims of the people who created the socialist interpretation of the site for visitors were inscribed into the displayed objects by the choice of the story to tell and through the styles and means of presentation. Further, they set out the paths leading to the central *topoi*, as well as hid others that did not suit the desirable image Kumrovec was expected to convey. The four different meanings Bruner reads in the term “authenticity” can be distinguished in Kumrovec. Through the attempt to make Kumrovec a vivid representation of the village at the time Tito was a child, for example, by placing the very cradle in which Josip Broz was rocked in his house of birth, the first three meanings appear to have been achieved. Moreover, among others, Tito himself authorized Kumrovec as an authentic site by visiting it often. The site was reaffirmed as authentic by every visit, since Tito himself ensured that Kumrovec acquired an aura of authenticity.

Kumrovec was thus ready to greet, in all its “authenticity,” its numerous visitors. Foreign visitors from almost all European countries—mostly delegations as can be deduced from the headlines of their inscriptions—and from other countries including India, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Canada, Japan, Mexico, Argentina, China, Cuba, the USA, and Kenya, as well as numerous visitors from all the parts of Yugoslavia, were attracted to Kumrovec.

However, the impressions they had of the visit and the way they internalized the site’s messages certainly do not form a uniform picture. The meanings of Kumrovec were constructed through each individual visit. Accordingly, the remarks in the visitors’ books, just like their authors, are certainly not monolithic. Some of the inscriptions reveal everyday issues, like a child’s sentence: “I’m 6 years old, I know how to do sums” (1965); while some are much deeper, poetic, full of emotions, personal attitudes, and ideological meanings: “The moment at which your heart stopped, mine started to beat for you. I love you, comrade Tito” (1989). We cannot be sure what was behind the texts; we cannot detect whether they were meant seriously or iron-

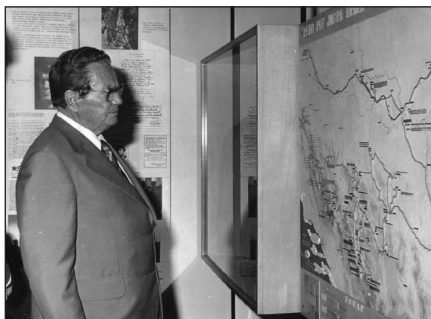


Figure 4. “Comrade Tito in his birthhouse”⁵³

ically. With some, written in childish handwriting, we cannot be sure if they were the child’s or an adult’s creation. Nevertheless, they reveal some of the ways different tourists constructed their own authenticities of Kumrovec.

The lists of names in the visitors’ books serve as evidence of the place’s popularity. The rows of children’s names, connected to numerous school excursions, are especially long, and there are also small drawings made by children that reveal Kumrovec as a place for children’s games and imagination. Some youngsters wrote sentences like, “I was the happiest when I saw the birth house of comrade Tito” (1965), and some texts convey the promises of little children, such as, “As a pupil I can only promise that I will study hard” (1965), or the best wishes of a school group: “We wish you a long life” (1966). In children’s handwriting we find gratitude for a “carefree childhood in freedom” (1981), regret for not having lived in his time (1989), but also expressions of love (1989).

Especially after Tito’s death, thoughts of devotion entered school children’s texts. Here, the stress was on the importance of continuing his path: “Thank you, Comrade Tito, for everything that you did for our country, we swear that we will continue to follow your way” (1981); “Tito’s name and work, for us, his youth, will forever remain a source of inspiration in a not at all easy struggle for a decent life, we have learnt not to give up that fight and we won’t” (1988). Thus, Kumrovec can be seen as a place where children gained inspiration, a place specially made for demonstrating the only right way to live to the

⁵³ Photo by Tanjug, 27 March 1977. Source: documentation from the “Old Village” Museum, Kumrovec.

youngest members of socialist society: “We are travelling along the paths of Tito’s childhood and are being inspired by the ideas of brotherhood and unity that comrade Tito pointed out, and we promise that we will guard them” (1988). The obligatory school excursions underlined the connection between Tito and children, since the younger generation was meant to continue Tito’s work: “To live in Tito’s time, to work and create with him was an honor for all of us. To continue along his path and to work is an obligation and a pledge for all of us” (1980). Tito in a way continued to live through the lives of children, as one text stated: “Your heart beats in the hearts of children” (1981). The leader was considered so important that one text metaphorically put it this way: “The first words a child pronounces in this country are Mum, Dad, and Tito!” (1980).

Other visitors who clearly belonged to a group included participants in the Day of Youth celebration and the *štafeta* (baton).⁵⁴ This was the case with the authors of the following lines: “We are proud to carry Tito’s *štafeta* on 21 May 1947, from his birthplace.” Foreign delegations including members of the Communist Party of India and ambassadors from Indonesia, and also Yugoslav politicians and important state officials, made their mark in the visitors’ books. Many inscriptions were written by trade union groups from enterprises, and by members of other organizations like hikers’ clubs, pensioners’ associations, groups of political science students, youth brigades, women’s associations, etc. Of course, there were also countless inscriptions by people who individually decided to visit the site with their families and friends.

All these fragments of text, especially those that directly addressed Tito, suggest that the visitors’ books served as a medium for the thoughts that people wanted to communicate to him in person. Through transmitting part of a “dialog” with Tito, they remain permanent records of

⁵⁴ “In the order of symbols established during the reign of Tito, expressions of love and respect for his ‘personality and deeds’ held a prominent place. [...] More original was Tito’s *Štafeta*, Baton, from 1957 the Youth Baton—a kind of secular procession in which ‘young men and women’, ‘soldiers and athletes’ took turns in carrying a specially-made hollow baton in the form of a torch, carrying birthday wishes for ‘comrade Tito’.” Čolović (2004). For more information about *štafeta*, see Jakovina (2006, pp. 165–76).

Yugoslav socialist reality and Tito's role in it. Together they form a collage of memories, feelings, and thoughts, telling a story about one part of Yugoslav history. In addition, the brief notes made by these tourists indicate that someone had been there and that he or she had chosen to leave a trace. They tell us about the life of this political tourism destination, about the responses of its visitors, and how tourists reacted to the construction of Kumrovec as a tourism destination and constructed their own meanings around it.

Conclusion

The construction of socialist Kumrovec can be understood in terms of the development of a political tourism destination with the political history of Yugoslavia as the crucial framework of analysis for exploring the image-building power of the site. The majority of Kumrovec's constructors would not have publicly interpreted their efforts as an activity oriented to tourists. Also, the visitors who noted their impressions in the visitors' books did not designate themselves as tourists, since for many the term inferred a sort of easy-going attitude they did not associate with a political memorial site. Still, in many ways their journey to Kumrovec served as a kind of *Bildungsreise*. Visitors, especially the children who arrived on numerous school excursions, came to gain an insight into the rural life of the inhabitants of Hrvatsko Zagorje, as well as into Tito's significance in global history. A specific tourism infrastructure was prepared for their arrival: places to stay, museums and galleries to visit, performances to take part in, and, most importantly, spaces where they could confront the main reason for their trip, the image of Tito.

After Kumrovec had undergone considerable changes, visitors started arriving in great numbers. They read individual meanings in the presentation of the site, spotted Tito's image in the exhibited objects and architecture, and addressed him in sometimes very personal notes in the visitors' book. They brought the museum to life by shaping their own *authentic* Kumrovec. They often regarded their trip to Kumrovec with certain nostalgia, as a journey into the past, and an opportunity to obtain knowledge about the country's history. At the same time, they also perceived it as an escape from everyday routine and an appropri-

ate way to spend leisure time, or as a space for self-improvement.⁵⁵ Since “sites are not uniformly read and passively accepted by visitors,”⁵⁶ we can conclude that Kumrovec, after being reshaped by politicians and cultural workers, was ultimately defined by the travelers to that destination, through their multifarious interpretations. By focusing on these individual experiences of the place and of memory that was planned to be imbedded in it, we come close to Pierre Nora’s definition of “a history in multiple voices... less interested in causes than in effects... less interested in ‘what actually happened’ than in its perpetual re-use and misuse, its influence on successive presents; less interested in traditions than in the way in which traditions are constituted and passed on.”⁵⁷ The imagery of Kumrovec created by its numerous visitors in different periods from the 1950s on shows that Tito’s birthplace has become an important site of memory and cohesion of the Yugoslav community, although not completely in the fashion conceived by the place’s socialist constructors.

Two crucial dimensions can be detected in Kumrovec. Firstly, the provision of the “raw material”⁵⁸ of this small village in Zagorje, i.e., its physical recreation and the building of infrastructure for tourists who came to the place in great numbers after the Second World War and turned it into one of the most significant tourist destinations in continental Croatia. Secondly, the visitors themselves provided individual feedback on the displayed material, transforming the memorial site into a pedestal of authentic values and interpreting it as a superb place for reliving historical myths. Consequently, Kumrovec became a place of great importance in the mental maps of numerous Yugoslav citizens, and also a prominent political tourism destination.

⁵⁵ As a tourist destination, Kumrovec can also be approached in terms of general motives to travel, as discussed by Gmelch (2004, pp. 8–9).

⁵⁶ Urry (2002, p. 101).

⁵⁷ Nora (1996, p. 17).

⁵⁸ In his study on New Salem, Bruner emphasized the following: “New Salem and similar sites enact an ideology, recreate an origin myth, keep history alive, attach tourists to a mythical collective consciousness, and commodify the past. ... such sites do provide visitors with the raw material, experiences, with which to construct meaning, attachment, stability, and a sense of identity.” Bruner (2005b, p. 167).

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My Own *Vikendica*

Holiday Cottages as Idyll and Investment

Karin Taylor

Josip Broz Tito had a holiday cottage, so did Tonči the mechanic. Tito enjoyed a chic home in landscaped gardens on an Adriatic island reserved for the president. Tonči's hillside cabin in a village close to Zagreb had a photograph of Tito on one wall and a picture of the Madonna on the other.¹ Both men pursued wine-making as a hobby in their free-time getaways. The diverse sizes and styles of holiday cottages in Yugoslavia reflected the many social and cultural distinctions that permeated society. As a retreat from the city and an attainable symbol of personal contentment, the holiday cottage developed into a cherished trapping of urban life shaped by popular notions of how to spend leisure time in an agreeable and meaningful way.

Holiday cottages began to dot the tourism regions and rural surroundings of the larger cities of Yugoslavia in the early 1960s. At a time when workers were becoming accustomed to regular holidays in the framework of the social tourism system, an increasing number of urbanites sought leisure *away* from the collective. Others who took their vacations in hotels and household accommodation yearned for unrestrained relaxation and a sense of sheltered privacy. Vinko, from continental Croatia, described his emotions towards the seaside holiday home he built for his family in later life: "We have 'ours' here, it is simply different to being a tourist. It's a totally different feeling, a different relationship. You're comfortable, free [...] In your own property you live your own life."

¹ Interview held in Zagreb, 2006. I conducted the interviews used in this article in Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro in 2006 and 2007. My thanks to all who shared their experiences with me.

Although second home or holiday cottage ownership appeared to challenge intrinsically core socialist beliefs and planning models, private holiday properties boomed. By the 1980s, clusters of cottages of varying size and ostentatiousness had grown into whole holiday colonies, especially along the Adriatic coast. Significantly, Yugoslav property law never completely did away with the concept of private property. Property was permitted for the “personal use” of owners and their families, as will be discussed further on in this chapter. This enabled the ownership of what was officially termed *kuća za odmor* (house for rest), or in an even more utilitarian manner *kuća za odmor i rekreaciju* (house for rest and recreation). The popular name for the holiday cottage, however, was *vikendica*.² This affectionate derivative from the English “weekend” reflected the leisure character and pleasures of the getaway residence. Depending on the era and location in which it was built, as well as on the status of the owner, the *vikendica*—as I will generically call the Yugoslav holiday cottage here—could be anything from a one-room hut without electricity to a spacious second home with all conveniences.

Geographers and urban planners began to take note of the *vikendica* in Slovenia and Croatia in the late 1960s and predicted further expansion across the country.³ Statistics from the 1980s subsequently showed a dramatic five-fold increase in the number of holiday cottages registered in Yugoslavia between 1971 and 1981. Estimates saw the recorded figure of 216,204 more than double again to 550,000 in 1986.⁴ However, experts doubted that the statistics accurately reflected the real situation. Firstly, inadequacies in property law failed to define the *kuća za odmor* or *vikendica* in precise terms, and secondly, the implementation of planning regulations was prone to flaws.⁵ A substantial number of holiday cottages remained unregistered or were constructed illegally and consequently failed to show up in official surveys.

² For an early definition of *vikendica* in Croatian, see Klaić (1974). *Vikendica* was also used in the languages of the other republics. The word *vikend* first appears in dictionaries of Serbian and Croatian in the 1960s.

³ See Jeršič (1968).

⁴ Alfier (1987, pp. 237–8). See Table 1.

⁵ Anton Gosar noted that municipalities frequently ignored 1950s and 1960s urban planning regulations stipulating that they must issue permits for second homes in suburban areas. See Gosar (1986).

Of course, holiday cottage ownership and the creeping urbanization of scenic regions were not unique to Yugoslavia. The mass creation of second homes as a leisure destination marked landscapes across contemporary Western Europe and produced assorted recreational and retirement cultures, as well as provoking criticism.⁶ Various kinds of countryside second homes were also maintained in the socialist states.⁷ The most well-known type of privately or cooperatively owned out-of-town property in socialism is the Russian *dacha*.⁸ Generally, the Europe-wide search for Arcadia in various political configurations of the twentieth century can be seen to reach back to the habits of the eighteenth-century aristocracy. Romantic portrayals of nature later elaborated the theme of authentic experience of the self away from the city. However, the channels of emergence, architectural forms, uses, and meanings of the holiday cottage in the twentieth century were influenced by the specific conditions and practices of social and economic interaction in the different states. While the late Soviet *dacha* was widely used for earnest subsistence farming, for example, the Yugoslav *vikendica* promised hobby horticulture or the abandonment of a cultivated garden altogether in favor of other forms of relaxation.

As both an object of desire and a leisure practice, the *vikendica* was invested with cultural and political meanings that partly harmonized, yet partly conflicted, with socialist principles. Yugoslav thinkers acknowledged that leisure reflects social structure and difference and on this basis critically appraised the extensive appearance of the cottages. From an orthodox perspective, the private holiday property displayed social inequality and spatial segregation, and represented a vehicle of personal enrichment.⁹ At the same time, the *vikendica* gave evidence of satisfactory consumption levels, free choice in the sphere of leisure, as well as creative initiative on the part of the population. In the late 1980s, long-standing tourism expert Dragutin Alfier summed

⁶ See Walton (2000, pp. 130–2).

⁷ The *chata* in Czechoslovakia: Bren (2002); the *vila* in Bulgaria: Taylor (2006, p. 108).

⁸ Lovell (2003).

⁹ Acclaimed historian Dušan Bilandžić pointed this out in a discussion of consumer society in Yugoslavia in his mid-1980s work: *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije. Glavni procesi 1918–1985* (1985, p. 394).

up his view of *vikendica* development, detailing both pros and cons. On the one hand, he condemned the “excessive” practice of second home ownership as “a fatal form of internal colonialism” that challenged economic and social planning.¹⁰ But on the positive side, he juxtaposed benefits such as the restoration of decaying dwellings through private resources, and the seasonal repopulation of abandoned villages. Rather than targeting the *vikendica* from any rigorous ideological standpoint, critics tended to focus on the repercussions for the environment and national tourism development of the uncontrolled construction of holiday cottages. Tito himself commented sharply on the so-called “wild building” of *vikendice* on the Adriatic coast in the 1960s. On a visit to Montenegro in 1968 he told tourism managers, “I [must] unremittingly scold [you] because of the building of *vikendice* along the sea [...] It’s not right, because some fence in the sea, one can’t see the sea for all the houses. That’s how one destroys nature, ruins man’s natural environment.”¹¹ Tito further demanded a stop to such building and the punishment of individuals who ignored building regulations. However, this and similar political reprimands did little to slow the expansion of the holiday cottages and their apparent challenge to the development of orderly tourism zones and complexes.

Can the *vikendica* be discussed under the title of tourism at all? According to conventional definitions of tourism as “travel away from home” and to “new destinations,” the regularly frequented holiday cottage hardly represents a tourist destination.¹² However, seen in anthropological terms as a place removed from routine social arrangements, the cottage can be understood to offer escape from the normalizing forces at work on the individual. Like touring, then, the holiday cottage may be approached as a form of travel-related recreation enabling an alternative articulation of cultural and social identity. On the other hand, the holiday destination is also shaped by practices of everyday life. The convention of “going away” involves repeating activities linked to the requirements of transferring domesticity to

¹⁰ “Pristupi izučavanju uzroka i posljedica pretjerane izgradnje kuća za odmor i rekreaciju na području Jugoslavije s posebnim osvrtom na Hrvatsku,” (1987, p. 238).

¹¹ “Titovi pogledi na turizam,” *Turizam* 28/5 (1980), p. 12.

¹² Compare Urry (1990, pp. 1–4).

another—familiar or unfamiliar—destination. So, while *vikendica* owners may not be tourists in the sightseeing sense, they can be considered as holidaymakers periodically disconnected from the localities where they have chosen to spend their leisure time yet coming to terms with setting up home in a place representing an alternative way of life.

Like the tourist destination, the choice of weekend or holiday ambience speaks about style and self-perception. As Stephan Lovell suggested for the Russian *dacha*, Yugoslav citizens projected positive features of their self-image into the *vikendica*: easygoing sociability, a family orientation, generous hospitality, roots in “honest” agricultural labor, a knack for improvisation, and affinity with nature.¹³ On the

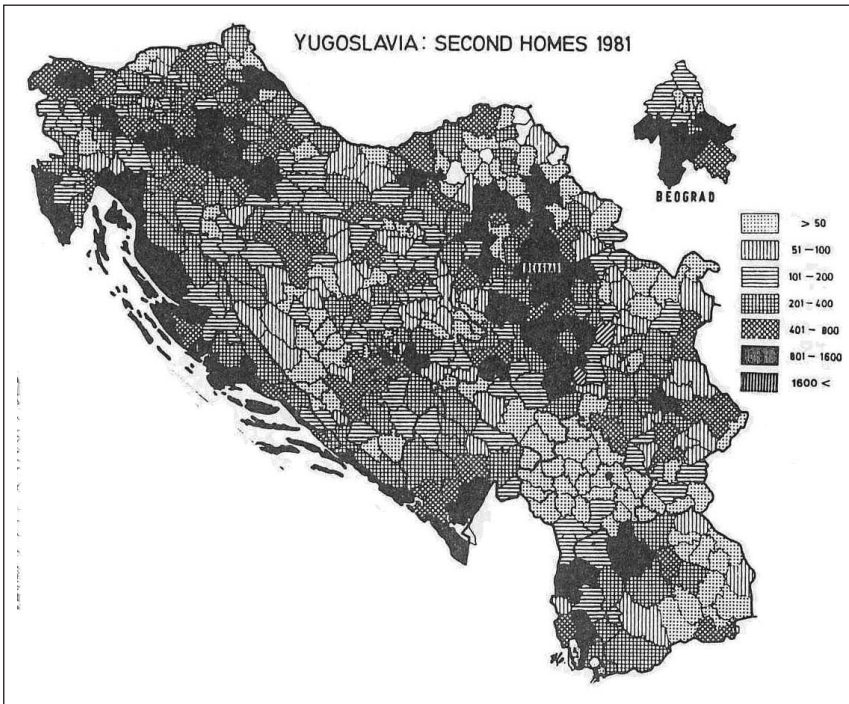


Figure 1. *Distribution of second homes (summer and weekend cottages) in Yugoslavia, 1981*¹⁴

¹³ Lovell (2003, p. 5).

¹⁴ Source: Gosar (1986).

more prosaic side, the process of acquiring and cultivating a *vikendica* involved collecting and exercising resources under the conditions of the Yugoslav self-management economy. Individuals and their families accumulated funds and tapped social networks to facilitate the purchase of land and to enable the building and maintenance of their “own place.” Beginning with the second homes of the political elite in the 1950s, the *vikendica* saw several phases of transformation that finally established the holiday cottage in Yugoslavia as a largely unrestricted cultural institution.

Retreat from Industrialization: 1950s and 1960s

When Yugoslavia was going through reconstitution as a socialist state, having a holiday cottage was far from the vision of the majority of the population. Housing in the burgeoning towns and cities was lacking and conditions often extremely poor. Party leaders and officials, however, soon found that they needed respite from their task of guiding the construction of the new state. In the 1950s, highly-positioned functionaries began to build holiday cottages for themselves and their families. Houses and villas in tourism areas that had belonged to the former “bourgeois” class largely underwent nationalization after the war and were given over to public use—among other things to provide accommodation for workers on holiday. The new power holders of this era generally preferred to build their own properties. Tito himself set an example by establishing a summer domicile on the Brijuni cluster of islands in Istria that came to function as the “summer capital.”¹⁵ At a distance from the mansions used to house the leader’s guests, he built a small modernist villa on the tiny island of Vanga. Here, the leader liked to be portrayed with his wife or enjoying his various hobbies as gardener, craftsman, and producer of wine and spirits. Such images were widely published in the print media. Although an array of splendid residences was reserved for Tito’s visits throughout Yugoslavia, the house on Vanga symbolized his own private retreat.¹⁶

¹⁵ On the use of seaside resorts as “summer capitals,” see Walton (2002).

¹⁶ Several of Tito’s residences had belonged to former rulers, for example the Habsburg or Karađorđević dynasties. Aleksandra Vlatković (2006) discussed the transformations of a hunting lodge in Baranji.

Like Tito's island getaway, the holiday cottages built by communist leaders in the 1950s and '60s were neither particularly large nor grand. They were more conspicuous by their location, modern equipment and refined furnishings. The Party leader from Montenegro, Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, spent the summers with his family in the Montenegrin coastal village of Rijeka Reževići.¹⁷ Low and secluded by trees, his house was poised on a cliff that falls away to the sea on three sides—a spectacular location. A fellow cottage-owner from Belgrade commented on the house:

We didn't consider it as something pretentious, luxurious... It was more modest compared to our house, or what is being built today, but his house was fantastic inside. His idea was to collect paintings... his wife was an educated woman, they had a complete library... an uplifting atmosphere, with beautiful, fantastic pictures.¹⁸

On the exterior, neither a swimming pool nor other luxury facilities marked this or similar summer retreats. Vukmanović-Tempo bathed in the small bay at the foot of the cliff where village women in the 1950s washed woolen clothes in the spring. Nevertheless, the option of being able to leave the city and enjoy a tranquil sojourn in a new country home remained a privilege of the elite in the first decade and a half after the Second World War.

The flight of the new leaders into "unspoiled" countryside seemed to echo the Romantic idea of the sublime in nature, famously analyzed for coastal landscapes by Alain Corbin.¹⁹ Members of the Yugoslav intellectual elite, educated in the inter-war years, delighted in views of natural beauty and dramatic seascapes as they scanned the now communist lands for suitably scenic and inspiring retreats. A Belgrade law professor who contributed to a typescript of holiday memories of Montenegro noted his first impressions of a cove he "discovered" below the cliff-top Reževići Monastery in 1962: "We came to the

¹⁷ According to local lore, Vukmanović-Tempo was granted the site for free. The picturesque village became a favorite holiday retreat of the Belgrade elite.

¹⁸ My interview, 2006. The paintings were later donated to the Montenegrin Museum of Art in Cetinje.

¹⁹ Corbin (1995).



Figure 2. *Newly built holiday cottage belonging to the Serbian actor Guta Dobričanin, Perazića Do, Montenegro. Dobričanin purchased the land in 1962–63 and the cottage was completed in 1966.*

monastery and climbed down frightening cliffs, through brambles and thorns to the beach and an eerie ruin. The atmosphere—no living soul, rock thrushes, beating waves... and (the remains) of a house, walls blackened by fire.”²⁰ It was the wild aspect of the spot, as yet not reached by road or power systems, that caught his imagination. Back in Belgrade, he persuaded a group of eight fellow professors and artists to put funds together and purchase land owned by local families and the Orthodox Church to settle as a seaside retreat. The group camped in the cove while they built their cottages. They later dubbed themselves “the conquistadores”: soulful adventurers who had conquered an uncharted territory.

²⁰ The text belongs to a typed, unbound collection of memories of eleven members of a holiday cooperative who informally recorded their activities of the 1960s and 1970s. Only the authors own copies.

Around this time, some municipalities offered building plots to members of the political and administrative elite for free. A former manager in a large Belgrade construction enterprise described how a Montenegrin municipality offered plots to a group of highly positioned Belgrade technocrats and professionals seeking to build holiday cottages on the coast in the early 1960s. "The municipality wanted to attract prominent people," he said.²¹ The idea was to boost tourism through locating well-known and powerful individuals in the region. As Party secretary in his enterprise, he had advised against accepting the gift, the retired manager said. Instead, he had advocated the formation of a building cooperative (*zadruga*) with the aim of constructing a holiday development for private use and through private means. In 1965 the cooperative purchased land in the same cove recently settled by the "conquistadores." The growing holiday colony was named Perazića Do after one of the families that sold property to the new developers.

The manager had reason to refuse the gift of land: some three years earlier, the federal party's Central Committee executive had noted that a number of functionaries were misusing state housing funds by investing in private property, including the construction of holiday cottages. A Central Committee document signed by Aleksandar Ranković established that individuals were enriching themselves through illegal earnings, speculation and by abusing the allocation of social housing funds. "A good number of these individuals is building villas, houses, and apartments from these resources and through the act of using social resources via loans from the housing funds and the funds of enterprises," the document stated.²² An investigation was launched into the building activities of top members of the federal and republican governing bodies and political organizations, including army generals and ambassadors.²³ The probe covered 467 properties, of which 123 were recorded as holiday cottages (*za odmor*) or second homes. Of the holi-

²¹ Interview in Montenegro, 2006. The former manager provided a copy of the typescript cited above.

²² The "letter" is dated 15 May 1962, according to a protocol of the Central Committee's executive committee, 19 July 1962. Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore (ASCG), fond CK SJ III, 92.

²³ "Izveštaj o stanju izgradnje kuća u vezi sa pismom Izvršnog komiteta CK SKJ od 15. maja 1962. godine," 14 July 1962. ASCG, fond CK SJ III, 92.

day properties, 33 were found to have been partially funded by loans from the housing fund, and 15 on the basis of various privileges enjoyed by the political position of the owners or through downright malpractice. The report ended by underlining that only leading cadres had been investigated and that a significant number of officials on the municipal level and in enterprises were assumed to be benefiting in the same way. In addition, the report indicated the distribution of holiday cottages belonging to the governing elite across the six republics: Croatia clearly had the highest number of holiday properties (82), followed by Slovenia (25), while no such properties were recorded in Macedonia.²⁴

Although the issue of holiday cottages and the circumstances of their construction caused consternation at the highest political level in 1962, the legal status of the second home remained indeterminate in the new constitution of 1963. Private property was not mentioned in the earlier 1953 constitution that had taken leave of Soviet-style centralization, but it had also not been explicitly forbidden.²⁵ The constitution of the new Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on the other hand, guaranteed the individual right of ownership to items of personal use, i.e., that were not utilized for production. Article 23 permitted the ownership of houses and apartments for the satisfaction of "personal needs." This formulation apparently endorsed the second home. Indeed, the 1958 law on the nationalization of rented property and land designated for construction exempted buildings that "by their size and dedication" were intended only for rest or recreation (*za odmor ili oporavak*) by the owner and his or her family.²⁶ But the problem of precise definition began here. A 1968 report on tourism capacity in a number of Yugoslav municipalities noted critically that it was left up to local authorities to determine what size of property was eligible for the category of rest and recreation.²⁷ Assessments varied greatly among

²⁴ Ibid. However, the report noted that the investigation had not been fully completed in all regions and figures could only be considered as partial.

²⁵ Borić (1996, 42ff).

²⁶ *Zakon o nacionalizaciji najamnih zgrada i građevinskog zemljišta*, SL FRNJ 1958, 52, čl. 16.

²⁷ *Uslovi privredjivanja samostalnih ugostitelja. Domovi odmora, turističke vile i vikendice, Stalna konferencija gradova Jugoslavije*, 1968. Unpublished report, National Library of Serbia.

the municipalities: Dubrovnik reckoned “a building with one small apartment,” while the Serbian municipality of Titovo Užice saw a generous range from “a building with one room” to “a villa with at the most three rooms.” Guidelines differed considerably even within the same republic: Kranj in Slovenia set 50 m² without accessory space as the limit, while Ljubljana approved up to 70 m² without accessory space.

In any case, the 1968 report clearly reflected the growing popularity of the *vikendica*. Some 230 weekend cottages were recorded in the Slovenian seaside resort of Piran alone and 270 in the Alpine municipality of Radovljica, both resorts totaling a capacity of over 1,000 *vikendica* beds each. With such rapid growth, Slovenia was the first republic to undertake a detailed study of the *vikendica* phenomenon. The geographical journal *Geografski vestnik* published a survey in the same year, establishing that in the preceding 15 years more than 3,000 private weekend houses had been built or adapted from existing properties in Slovenia and along the West Istrian coast.²⁸ Some two-thirds of cottages were new and around one-third installed in older houses or farm buildings, wine cellars, or Alpine huts. The author clearly attributed the ownership of second homes to the urban population with a full two-thirds of owners resident in the capital, Ljubljana. He concluded that weekend cottages had so far caused less changes to the landscape than the proliferation of urban centers, but that the *vikendica* trend was expected to grow and leave its mark.

Certainly, the building of individual getaways in the early 1960s heralded the urbanization of underdeveloped provinces in connection with tourism needs. A former diplomat and manager from Zagreb whose family originated from the Dalmatian island of Pašman said that his father had built a *vikendica* there on a family plot in 1962.²⁹ Back then, the three-room house of some 65 m² had been considered relatively spacious, but it was less the size of the island home than the fact that it was equipped with a telephone that was remarkable. As inspector of the Croatian post, the diplomat's father organized the postal administration in the nearby towns of Zadar and Biograd na Moru. “The post there got a [telephone] connection earlier than other places,” he said. “At that time, you could say it was exclusive, people rarely

²⁸ Jeršič (1968, pp. 53–67).

²⁹ My interview, 2006.

had one.” Although the expansion of infrastructure and communication technologies in this era was primarily connected to industrialization, the construction of holiday cottages by top officials and administrators impacted on local communities through hastening the process at responsive points.

Having a *vikendica* suggested an individualist stance towards holidaymaking and an aversion to spending leisure time with fellow colleagues and workers as prescribed by the social tourism program. Not all *vikendica* developments were entirely individual or isolated undertakings, however. An interesting case is that of Perazića Do, whose beginnings as a holiday colony were briefly described above. Some 50 high-ranking officials, professionals, and academics had a stake in the new holiday cooperative. The development on the steep terrain behind the cove was conducted by the construction enterprise that had earlier been offered land in the nearby town of Petrovac na Moru. Machinery replaced the donkeys that carried down building materials for the first cottages. Workers transferred from wintry Belgrade raised a colony of 56 two-storey houses between 50 m² and 80 m² in size. Marble flooring was available for those who wanted to pay extra for it. In 1966 and 1967, the first families moved into their holiday homes. The cooperative struck on a collective solution regarding furnishings: it ordered beds and other wooden furniture from the construction company’s carpentry workshop, and made a bulk order of fridges and cookers so that the holiday homeowners only needed to bring along the kitchenware. Similarly, infrastructure was funded cooperatively in what the retired manager narrated as a fine example of socialist self-management. An electricity relay station brought electrical power across the headland from Petrovac at the colony’s cost, and street lamps lit up the access road in the 1970s. The road itself was constructed in agreement with the municipality that supported plans to develop tourism and the construction of a 4-star hotel in the same cove.³⁰ Furthermore, the cooperative set up a small shop to provide groceries to the holidaymakers. A council elected from the holiday community and bound by a statute directed the organizational efforts.

³⁰ In the early 1970s, the cooperative became embroiled in local and Party allegations concerning the purchase of nationalized land and the building of the hotel by the same construction company. The former manager and



Figure 3. *New holiday cottage in the Perazića Do colony, Montenegro, completed around 1967.*

Despite attention to modern comforts, it was a declared goal to preserve the natural beauty of the cove. The colony's chief horticulturalist, a woman botanist, helped to transform the thorny Mediterranean hillside into a "flowering garden," the former manager said, redolent of the Romantic view of the garden as nature perfected. The mountainous journey from Belgrade to Perazića Do in the 1960s took two days by car. Holiday cottages founded at this time often drew holiday-makers a long way from home for lengthy sojourns in the summer,

other leading members of the cooperative were indicted in 1971. The retired manager said that he had served a three-year prison sentence but that the sentence was later rescinded and he had been fully rehabilitated. He further stated that he had a full set of receipts for each house, proving that the owners had paid for the building themselves.

and cottage owners lauded the experience of regeneration in pristine nature. Retreat from the growing industrial centers—a prime emblem of socialist construction and success—was ardently cultivated by the leaders of the new political order.

The “Do-It-Yourself” *Vikendica*: 1970s and 1980s

In the course of the 1960s, the idea of the private holiday retreat caught on with white-collar employees in middle management and wider circles of intellectuals. The post-war construction of new properties gave way to a taste for adapting existing buildings. An educated couple from Belgrade said they had spent their earliest seaside holidays in Makarska as part of a social tourism arrangement. They had thought building their own holiday cottage was too costly, but when the wife’s father and other relatives recommended an old house available for renovation in the Istrian town of Rovinj, they decided to go for it. Four in-laws had a share in the project. At this time, the old town centre of Rovinj was largely depopulated due to the events of the Second World War and the subsequent emigration of a considerable part of the Italian population. Many of the abandoned old stone houses lay in ruins.³¹ The family was able to acquire a 20-year lease for the house from the municipality in 1964, and eventually bought the property when it came up for sale some 10 years later. The house, nestled right next to the church at the city’s highest elevation, boasted a courtyard with a decorated stone cistern. “We improved it [the house], built up the walls, we raised a vine over the terrace... We had a view of the sea, we worked together with great satisfaction, and we used it for a good 20-something years,” the husband said, “in Rovinj we felt like natives.” With the purchase of a neighboring property, the joint family summer home measured some 120 m².³²

Rovinj, which developed into a holiday colony for artists and intellectuals from all over Yugoslavia, posed a special historical case that

³¹ The case of Rovinj was underlined in the 1962 report “Izveštaj o stanju izgradnje kuća,” ASCG, fond CK SJ III, 92, 7.

³² The house was confiscated by the municipality of Rovinj during the 1990s war and was later sold. The owners said they had received no compensation.

resulted in a conglomeration of empty properties for adaptation.³³ But labor migration before and after the Second World War had left many houses in poorer regions abandoned and these now became increasingly attractive to idyll-seekers with a sense for authentic ambiance. In addition, city people with family roots in rural areas began to reclaim family property.³⁴

The 1970s saw a boom in the installation of *vikendica*. Vesna, a translator from Belgrade whose husband worked in tourism marketing, recalled how her family regained a forgotten family cottage at that time. Her grandmother had originated from a tiny village perched high over a stunning bay in Montenegro. “As a woman, my grandmother had relinquished her right to part of the inheritance to benefit her brothers. But then she sought her share and got it [...] That’s how we obtained the house, from the family inheritance,” Vesna said. Her mother already owned a simple *vikendica* some 100 km from Belgrade, but the site on the coast was more attractive to the couple who had a young daughter. The land, an olive grove, had been nationalized but the family received the right to use the existing building. Although this legacy of the early phase of socialism commonly applied to similar properties in Montenegro, nominal nationalization scarcely influenced people’s attitude to what they perceived as their “own.” The family modernized the existing 50 m² stone cottage and it gained a plain appearance with a flat roof, a terrace, and no special features beyond the spectacular view. It was furnished with assorted items from the Belgrade apartment—like the majority of second homes in this era. In the garden, Vesna grew plants from seedlings and cuttings. She pointed out that her modest garden differed from those surrounding the holiday cottages of the elite. “Plants cost, and they had exotic plants like palm trees,” she said.

The second home lifestyle of political leaders, technocrats, and intellectuals also caught the attention of lower-educated employees and workers who started to construct their own getaways. Around

³³ Writer Bora Ćosić (2007) discusses memories of the colony.

³⁴ A study of holiday cottages on the Dalmatian island of Hvar in 1977 showed that 36.7 percent of owners were originally from the island. Of the adapted houses, 49 percent belonged to people of island descent. See Pepeonik (1977).



Figure 4. *Summer cottage in an olive grove overlooking Lučića Bay, Montenegro, modernized in the late 1970s.*³⁵

1970, the *vikendica* made its first appearances in the mass media. Reports demonstrated the very disparate types of cottages now populating the landscape. An item in a 1971 Sunday supplement of the leading daily *Politika* featured *Vagon-Vikendica*—four disjoined and rusting railway wagons parked in a clearing in wooded hills in Eastern Serbia.³⁶ In contrast, a Ljubljana-based company in the same year advertised “atrium houses” in a new development close to Zadar, ranging from 46 m² to the 64 m² “luxury” type surrounded by gardens and private parking space.³⁷ This advertisement in the daily *Slobodna Dalmacija* explicitly addressed both private buyers and enterprises. Earlier advertisements in specialist journals of the 1960s had offered prefabricated cottages,

³⁵ Source: my photo, 2006.

³⁶ *Politika*, 5 December 1971, Sunday supplement.

³⁷ Two-page advertisement by the company Hoja, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 30 January 1971.

too, but had aimed these at tourism enterprises and resorts rather than at individual buyers.³⁸ Firms producing ready-made cottages now directly targeted consumers by donating *vikendice* to the popular magazine lotteries of the 1970s and '80s.³⁹ Presented at the top of a pyramid of consumer goods ranging from TV sets to rubber diving suits, the first prize reflected the importance of the *vikendica* in the popular imagination of the "good life."

While firms offered an ever-widening selection of cottages, most people chose to construct the *vikendica* themselves either with the help of builders or on their own. The 1970s was the decade of do-it-yourself initiative. Specialist journals explaining how to construct everything from canoes to caravans naturally dealt with the topic of house-building and decoration.⁴⁰ In one of its earliest editions, the journal *Sam svoj majstor* ("Your Own Craftsman") in 1975 featured a proud electrician who had designed and built a wooden cottage simply equipped "with a drill."⁴¹ The journal over the years engaged with every conceivable technology from the intricacies of installing basic heating and electrical systems to solar panels. Specialists answered readers' letters concerning problems with creating their *vikendica* and how to make the best use of space. Hobby builders showed no lack of originality: "*Vikendica* like a boat" titled an item in a 1979 edition of the leisure journal *Vikend*.⁴² The accompanying photograph showed what appeared to be a ship riding a steep hillside. The text explained that the Croatian owner worked in Germany where he had won a large sum of money in sports gambling. He spent the win on building the spectacular holiday getaway.

³⁸ See, for example, advertisements in *Turizam* 10/7 (1962) and *Turizam* 11/9 (1963).

³⁹ For example, the Croatian firm DIP Ogulin donated a *vikendica* for a lottery organized by the magazine *Vikend* in 1975 and another to a 1988 lottery in the magazine *Arena*.

⁴⁰ *SAM* was published in Zagreb from 1975, while another magazine, *Uradi sam*, was published in Belgrade. The leisure magazine *Vikend* also included tips on home decoration and gardening under the title "*Uradi sam*."

⁴¹ *SAM* 9 (1975), pp. 874–5.

⁴² *Vikend* 580 (1979), p. 3.

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ju predstavljamo vam vri-
majstora Nebojšu Fad-
og suradnika Elektroteh-
a Zagrebačkog sveučili-
stvene kućice za odmor
obronaka Plešivice, nado-
rada Okica.
jurišam na vašu nagradu
as je Nebojša Fadijević
škog razgovora s redak-
— Kad vidite moju »glij-
ujem da ćete shvatiti da

nik ipak se šalio, ali tako
ga. Njegova kućica (na
zaista je vrijedna divlje-
ima na stotine vikendica
ih od moje — dodao je
amo njegovom »žabom«
asene uspone po bregu —
ali se nijedan profesio-
je može pohvaliti da je
radio barem pola dnev-
a supruge, koja je prid-
mogla, povremeno su mi
stiji i rođaci. Ostalo se
ge mojih deset prstiju,
e bušilice s kompletom
i ovog automobila; u nje-
u prevozio sam sve, od
do dasaka i salonitnih

dugo trajala gradnja? —
I Počeli smo u travnju
cijela obitelj žrtvovala je
e od milja zovemo zbog
krova, sve vikende i
a će biti barem još go-
s je ovaj pothvat dosad

...i cijenu zemljišta, oko
ajuna. Govoreći financij-
ipolitar nam je i štedne
a iz fondoval
m proplanku, ovičenom
edivnih jesenskih boja,
p u već golim granama
savije sve do zemlje —
š domaćin — ali zato na
nikad nema komaraca

1. —Ima stvari na kojima se ne može štedjeti!», upozo-
rio je Nebojša Fadijević, elektroničar iz Zagreba. »Tu
spadaju sredstva za zaštitu i izolaciju.
2. Drvena konstrukcija kuće počiva na temeljima od
betona s kamenom oblogom.
3. Čitava unutrašnjost kuće Nebojše Fadijevića oblo-
žena je brodskim podom čija svijetla prirodna boja
izuzetno lijepo djeluje u kontrastu s tamnim gredama
premazanim smeđim »lignosanom«.
4. Zidovi načuvati prevlašt prirodnom tona drveta drug
Fadijević popločio je terasu pločicama boje zemlje i
bez glazure

5. Svi zidovi zaštićeni su izolacijskim slojem tervola
zapakovanog u jastuke od plastične folije da se osi-
gura od rasipanja.
6. Krov »glijvice« dobro prelazi gabarite tlocrta
»Iako su dobro zaštićeni zidovi kuće«, objasnio je po-
tencijalni »zlatni majstor«.
7. Svi šavovi između dasaka zapčivni su izolacijskim
materijalima.
8. Osim drva i kamena i okovi od kovanog željeza pri-
donose rustikalnom upodaju kojim odiše vanjsina ku-
ćice za odmor obitelji Fadijević.
9. Dimnjak koji prolazi sredinom kuće u neku je ruku
pridoneo stupnosu. Oko salonitne cijevi napravljen je
njezin stupnosac. Oko salonitne cijevi napravljen je
mreža od građevinskog željeza, zalivena betonom i
ogradena ciglama.

CRTEŽI
1. A — presjek i način izoliranja dodirnih mjesta zid-
nih dasaka; B — presjek temeljnog zida; C — pres-
jek dimnjaka.
2. Način ulaganja zidnih dasaka u utore na okomitim
gredama

Figure 5. "House put up with a drill," article featuring a cottage built single-handedly in the do-it-yourself magazine SAM svoj majstor, 1975.

Yugoslavs working abroad not only invested heavily in housing and holiday cottages back home but also modified the styles and dimensions of their properties. While the ship-shaped *vikendica* was a curiosity, migrant workers adapted and constructed housing under the influence of the architectural styles of the regions where they were

employed, eventually creating what became known as “migrant workers’ architecture.”⁴³ Since the majority worked in central and northern Europe, Alpine-style elements such as overhanging slanted roofs, wooden paneling, and balconies hung with flowers became popular, as well as bulging baroque balustrades. Such homemade duplication of style generally ignored local architectural legacies, but the houses of labor migrants did not represent the only cases of displaced architecture. Holiday cottages belonging to owners from the Alpine republic of Slovenia were instantly recognizable to locals in Istria, for example. The steep roofs originally designed to stave off snow were the main giveaway, and Istrians felt that they clashed with the more gently inclined Mediterranean rooftops.

Earnings from abroad also had a direct impact on the size of houses: second homes grew into multi-storey buildings that exceeded the description “cottage” or *vikendica*, especially those in migrants’ home villages. In addition, these houses were equipped with modern appliances largely unavailable in the later years of economic crisis. Vesna, mentioned above, recalled being shown around the three-storey house of a Montenegrin neighbor in the 1980s who worked in a Swedish car factory. “Those were the first examples of life abroad that we had. For example, when I visited her *vikendica*, I saw several kitchen devices that I didn’t even know existed—an electric fruit press, an extractor hood, and also new furniture.”

People without the benefit of foreign currency income continued to make do with used furnishings in their cottages. The 1970s Europe-wide trend to salvage cultural heritage and employ natural materials influenced the combination of artifacts in the *vikendica*, however. Yugoslav magazines reflected the shift towards more decorative and eclectic interiors. The simple forms of the post-war decades gave way to a mix of rustic artifacts with hints of “bourgeois” patina. Hand-painted plates and pitchers, for example, appeared as exclusive wall ornaments.⁴⁴ The home magazine *Naš dom* in 1981 visited a selectively furnished holiday cottage. Photographs showed comfortably clut-

⁴³ Maksin-Mićić (2006, p. 49).

⁴⁴ For example: “Ljubičini vrčiči,” *Vikend* 316 (1974), p. 54.



Figure 6. *Summer home overlooking Lučića Bay, Montenegro, built in the 1980s by workers employed in Sweden.*⁴⁵

tered rooms boasting antique furnishings and oil paintings, as well as a rustic kitchen displaying turn-of-the-century ceramics and cut glass.⁴⁶ Zdenka, the owner of a cottage some 22 km from Zagreb, explained why she had chosen rustic-style pinewood paneling for her interior, “For me, it is warm... I feel intimate warmth in my house.” She said she had enjoyed reading about home design in German magazines like *Schöner Wohnen* and had taken up some ideas. A magazine-inspired design shaped the entrance gate to her property: four wooden cart-

⁴⁵ My photo, 2006.

⁴⁶ *Naš dom* 171/7 (1981), pp. 35–8. *Naš dom* was published from 1967. It appeared in a Serbo-Croatian and a Slovenian-language version.

wheels joined together by a decorative wrought-iron frame. Zdenka said her husband had bought the wheels from villagers who had wanted to throw them away. Indeed, the whole wooden cottage was purchased from a villager and reconstructed on the plot she and her husband bought in the mid-1970s. The husband, an engineer, worked on road construction in the hilly region around Zagreb and was directed first to the land and then the cottage by locals. Craftsmen dismantled the two-room cottage, transported and rebuilt it on a concrete foundation. Later, the couple added an ample terrace. Zdenka said they had chosen the option of shifting a traditional peasant cottage since it had been cheaper than buying new materials. This method of acquiring a reasonably priced as well as an aesthetically appealing *vikendica* was also promoted in do-it-yourself literature. *SAM* featured a “house for one third of the price!” in 1975, taking the reader through all the stages of taking apart a wooden structure, restoring and finally reassembling the elements.⁴⁷

The majority of *vikendica* owners with cottages in city surroundings had cars and regularly travelled packed with children and provisions to the weekend leisure spot.⁴⁸ Yugoslav leisure culture, however, also brought forth subcultures that straddled the urban and countryside environments in specific settings. In Belgrade, for example, weekend trippers settled riverside locations along the banks of the Sava and Danube rivers. Ada Ciganlija Island—some 4 km from central Belgrade—was a traditional excursion spot for walking, swimming, and fishing. From the late 1960s, the island’s isolated fishing piers were joined by increasing numbers of floats—most often wooden rafts buoyed up by empty oil barrels. In the course of the 1970s, the closely packed floats (*splavi*) extended along many kilometers of riverbank. On top, they balanced miniature *vikendice*, forming a floating colony of several thousand cabins. The earliest were simple structures without any

⁴⁷ *SAM* 3 (1975), pp. 252–5; *SAM* 4 (1975), pp. 346–9.

⁴⁸ A 1976 survey of the recreational habits of Zagreb citizens showed that 54.5 percent of the surveyed households owned a car and that car ownership influenced the frequency of recreational activities away from home. See Pepeonik (1979). It must be taken into account that car ownership in Croatia and Slovenia was higher than in other republics. All those I interviewed who had a *vikendica* owned a car in socialism.

facilities beyond paraffin lamps and a couple of chairs to recline in, and the owners frequently went home in the late evening to the comparative comfort of their apartments. Vesna from Belgrade remembered how she had been a frequent guest at a girlfriend's *splav* where they spent hot summer days sunbathing, swimming, and having barbecues. Friends called around by boat from other moorings. For diversion, a couple of tiny riverside eating-places served fish soup and *raki-ja* brandy. "People of all backgrounds mixed there," she said. "Well-known actors, celebrities, shop assistants, intellectuals, market stallholders, all would sit together." One draughty hotspot offered live music played by the legendary local Roma band *Crni panteri* ("The Black Panthers").⁴⁹ With time, a remarkable variety of floating *vikendice* emerged from the social medley. The cabins grew to encompass shady verandas, brightly painted shutters, pagoda-style roofs, and sometimes even a second storey for sleeping.⁵⁰ The city regulated the registration of moorings and the purpose of the floats, but the mooring fee remained small and *splav* culture flourished along what locally became known as the "Belgrade Riviera."⁵¹

As the example above suggests, people made ample use of opportunities to use leisure retreats owned by friends or relatives, a fact often obscured in official statistics on *vikendica* ownership and recreation in general. A late-1970s survey from Slovenia gives an indication of the wide utilization of holiday retreats: while four percent of households in Slovenia possessed their own holiday cottage, a further 16 percent of households had access to getaways belonging to relatives.⁵² Quantitative assessments of holidaymaking in privately owned retreats were further complicated by the appearance of new apartments for sale in the tourism regions. In the late 1970s, the category of holiday apartment (*stan za odmor*) entered Yugoslav surveys.⁵³ The difficulties geographers faced in getting a grip on the *vikendica* phe-

⁴⁹ The *Crni panteri* float still exists today.

⁵⁰ See the feature "Kuća na vodi" in *SAM* 3/8 (1977), pp. 776–81.

⁵¹ Ibid. Riverside *splavi* were also popular in other parts of continental Yugoslavia. The article in *SAM* pointed out that regulations differed from one republic to another.

⁵² Gosar (1979, p. 180).

⁵³ Zlatko Pepeonik noted the appearance of holiday apartments for sale in the town of Hvar. See Pepeonik (1977, p. 180). Some studies also used

nomenon reflected the proliferation of types of holiday and leisure properties in Yugoslavia in correlation with the broadening range of consumer lifestyles.

The *Vikendica* Run Wild

In 1980, an article in the home magazine *Naš dom* offered advice on building and maintaining a *vikendica*. The text provided by the Belgrade-based architects collective *Naš stan* offered recommendations but also critical comment: “The wishes of the investor are not always logical and reasonable and it is not always easy to convince him otherwise. For example, people in principle build larger and more luxurious weekend houses than they really need.”⁵⁴ Architect Vasiljević recommended dimensions between 50 and 60 m² and further questioned the sense of building more than one storey. According to the expert, a bungalow, like “the whole of Europe builds,” was wholly sufficient. The tone of the article suggested more than architectural concerns. The rise of the *vikendica* pointed at glaring differences in the income, social situation and cultural dispositions of the population—facts that the government did not like to see emphasized in the public form of buildings.

The concerns voiced in the *Naš dom* article certainly reflected the ambivalent realities of second home culture. The example of a summer cottage colony on the southern coast of Montenegro shows how the building process sometimes acquired a dynamic of its own beyond the recreational function of the holiday getaway. Started in the mid-1970s by a group of Belgrade neighbors, the cooperative grew to encompass some 90 stakeholders, mainly workers. The Dobre Vode development, between Bar and Ulcinj, mirrored the organizational structures of the Perazića Do colony initiated over a decade earlier but lacked an overall conceptual plan. The owners undertook the construction of the houses themselves or with the help of local builders. Đuro and his wife Marica, a couple originally from Bosnia who attained

the word *stan* in the wider sense of “dwelling.” See Pepeonik (1976, pp. 67–9).

⁵⁴ *Naš dom* 158/6 (1980), p. 72. The collective *Naš stan* designed and sold architectural plans for *vikendice*.

partisan status during the Second World War when Đuro lost one arm, were able to live comfortably from their pensions in a Belgrade suburb. The couple belonged to the development's initiators and were among the first to purchase a plot in the "cheap" location. They had not been to Montenegro before and bought their stony plot from Muslim villagers. Like the Perazića Do community, the Dobre Vode cooperative put funds together for improvements to the holiday settlement. In 1977–1978, an access road was built with the agreement of the municipality, carefully documented by a list detailing all costs, from petrol to four liters of *rakija* brandy for the workers.⁵⁵ Despite such collective action, the colony remained without electricity for close to ten years. Today there is still no running water: a cistern provided scarcely enough water for the family who had relatives to stay from all over Serbia. "But the area is beautiful and healthy," said Marica, "we came because of the children." Still, her husband reckoned the house had grown too large. With three storeys and spacious terraces, the unplastered house with an insufficient water supply is no longer useable for the elderly couple, and their children lack the resources and interest to complete it. "At first I planned to build one or two rooms and a kitchen," said Đuro, "but once it started it went on and on. I know what a *vikendica* is. It's not 120 m², but already 30 or 40 m². [...] We had no electricity. We did everything by candlelight. Life was hard."

Surveys conducted in the 1970s and 1980s indicated significant contrasts in building development and the standard of holiday cottages across the country. To begin with, a study from 1971 showed an irregular distribution of holiday dwellings in the six republics.⁵⁶ As the republic with the longest coastline, Croatia had by far the largest share of Yugoslav holiday properties, with 53.4 percent, while Montenegro had only 4.3 percent. Landlocked Serbia had 27.2 percent, while mountainous Bosnia had a modest 3.2 percent, and Macedonia just 1.9 percent. Inside the republic of Serbia, the autonomous province of Vojvodina had 7.8 percent and Kosovo only 0.4 percent. Slovenia had

⁵⁵ "Zapisnik sa zбора grupe gradjana naselja 'Pod glavicom'" (22 July 1977); "Rashodi za izgradnju puta u Dobrim vodama" (undated). Documents provided by Đuro.

⁵⁶ Pepeonik (1976).

10 percent. Since citizens were free to purchase holiday property in other republics, these figures offer only a vague idea of how affordable or desirable the *vikendica* was in different parts of the country. Property in Croatia, for example, was popular with people from all over Yugoslavia and this permanently boosted statistics in this republic's favor.⁵⁷ However, the distribution does seem to reflect the general economic situation of the republics, with the "poorer" republics at the end of the scale.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the *vikendica* boom of the 1970s also encompassed the hitherto less developed republics which did some catching up in that decade. Macedonia, for example, made a significant leap from 813 holiday homes registered in 1971 to 9,351 ten years later, with the highest concentrations around Skopje, Gostivar, and Ohrid.⁵⁹

Within the republics, experts noted significant differences in size and amenities according to location. A study of second homes in Croatia published in 1983 showed that properties in the continental areas were smaller than those on the coast and more poorly equipped.⁶⁰ The author attributed this to the growing number of *vikendice* in the vicinity of the continental cities used only for weekend recreation, while houses on the coast tended to be kept for longer stays in the summer and required a better standard. However, a large number of *vikendice* in the continental areas were found not to be connected to municipal water and power supply systems at all: only 6.6 percent of holiday cottages in the Slavonski Brod municipality were connected, for example, while in the coastal administrative districts the figure was between 80 and 96 percent.

The problem of non-inclusion in communal infrastructure was just one among a set of faults experts and politicians saw in the disordered proliferation of holiday cottages in the 1970s and '80s. The reluctance

⁵⁷ Pepeonik's (1977, pp. 177–80) study of holiday properties on Hvar provides an exact key to the place of residence of owners. Croatia clearly predominated (58.3 percent) followed by Serbia (20.3 percent), then Vojvodina and Bosnia (8.4 and 8.1 percent respectively). No owners were registered from Macedonia or Kosovo.

⁵⁸ On the development gap, see Ramet (1992).

⁵⁹ Stojmilov (1985).

⁶⁰ Pepeonik (1983).

of owners to pay communal taxes, construction without building permission, the extension of houses beyond granted approval, building in protected nature zones, and the favored treatment of *vikendica* projects belonging to local personalities marred developments all over the country. A 1988 probe in the Dalmatian district of Split where *vikendice* were being built “right, left, and center” revealed that only 679 owners actually paid taxes.⁶¹ Studies unanimously underlined the detrimental effects of “wild building” on regional ecology, the quality of the tourism regions, and the capacity of local communities to provide necessary infrastructures. Experts saw the Adriatic coast as the most sensitive zone.⁶² Although planning laws came into effect in the 1970s that banned building within several hundred meters of the seashore, implementation fell to the municipalities. Frequently, they decided in favor of local interests: purportedly to allow local residents to build, for example.⁶³

By the 1980s, authorities were unable to control the building of holiday properties due to the sheer mass of construction initiatives. Citizens were able to avoid serious penalties when they were discovered to be building without permission. Tonči the mechanic explained how his *vikendica* was investigated. Around 1976, he purchased a plot of land and a vineyard in a village some 30 km from Zagreb. At first, he simply put up a wooden cabin, which he happily used as a retreat for some 10 years. Since the plot had originally been registered as agricultural land with the option of a holiday cottage, he decided to apply for building permission on the basis of this document. After he received no reaction from the authorities for two years, he went ahead with the construction of a two-storey cottage. At this point, an inspector visited the site and Tonči was given a modest fine. The judge charged with his case made clear that there would be no building permission but proposed that he should keep the receipt for the fine: it would show that he had already paid a “tax” for the building and could come in handy in lieu of a permit! Around the same time, authorities threatened more drastic measures against the illegal sprawl of holiday

⁶¹ “Niču vikendice, a poreza nema,” *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25 July 1988, p. 7.

⁶² See the contributions in *Turizam i prostor. Ekološki aspekti konfliktnih situacija* (1987).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, see especially Kušen (1987).

cottages on the coast. According to a 1988 report, 80 of 6,000 cottages erected without building permission in the preceding three years on the Croatian island of Vir now faced destruction.⁶⁴

Tonči's *vikendica* was never fully completed nor connected to municipal infrastructure. The toilet remained outside. For electricity he ran a simple generating unit. "I had an old fridge... I started it up [the generator] for two hours, the fridge froze up and that was enough for the whole day," he said. For lighting he used candles, petroleum lamps, and a fluorescent lamp that ran on his car's cigarette lighter. "When the car battery was empty, the car could be rolled down the hill to start up," was how he explained his improvised technology. Compared to the second home lifestyles of higher educated groups, Tonči's story and the narrative of Đuro and Marica suggest lower expectations of comfort in the holiday cottage. At the same time, people like Tonči who owned a simple *vikendica* in the surroundings of a continental city often managed summer holidays at the seaside, whether in a holiday cottage belonging to relatives—as in Tonči's case—or in other modest tourist accommodation.

How was it possible that an ever-widening stratum of urbanites invested in second homes while the housing shortage in the cities remained unresolved? And how did the socialist government tackle the *vikendica* in regard to evident inequalities? New legislation in the 1970s and 1980s confirmed the right of the *vikendica* to exist and prosper. The constitution of 1974 reiterated the right of citizens to own houses and apartments for the satisfaction of "personal or family needs," while a new federal law on property rights in 1980 specifically listed the weekend cottage in this context.⁶⁵ A constitutional amendment in 1988 finally "rehabilitated" private property and a liberalization of possibilities to purchase property followed.⁶⁶ Moreover, the availability of inexpensive bank loans for private building in the 1970s made second homes attractive in an era when the state itself was fly-

⁶⁴ "Tko to ruši moju vikendicu!" *Vikend* 1052 (1988), pp. 14–5. The protests of *vikendica*-owners were widely featured by the Croatian newspapers.

In recent years, the case of illegal building has been revived. A number of holiday cottages were destroyed on government order in Spring 2006.

⁶⁵ Borić (1996, p. 81).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 93ff. The extent of liberalization varied in the different republics.

ing high on borrowed funds. When the economy plummeted, rates were rapidly “eaten up” by inflation—as people said—so that fixed monthly installments dwindled to almost nothing and for some lucky citizens the holiday cottage came almost for free. At the same time, however, the lack of precise regulations concerning what should be considered a *vikendica* consistently blurred the boundaries between residential housing and holiday properties.⁶⁷ Building funds available for individual home construction or improvements via the trade unions, for example, were known to flow into holiday cottages disguised as family housing. As a result, the unions called for better laws on second homes to snuff malpractice yet protect the rights of “working people who have been able to build a holiday cottage with income earned under normal conditions.”⁶⁸ However, no satisfactory regulations came about. The persistent housing crisis culminated in the mid-1980s campaign *Imaš kuću, vrati stan* (“You have a house, return the flat”). The idea behind the socialist moral campaign was that citizens who had built a house (some of which had started out as *vikendice*) in their place of residence yet kept an apartment provided by social housing should return it. The majority of citizens nevertheless ignored this appeal.⁶⁹

The slack attempts by authorities to get both the social housing system and the *vikendica* under control reproduced contradictions that actually advanced social inequality. An example from Croatia illustrates this: in 1973, Croatia introduced taxes on new holiday cottages designed to discourage the diversion of funds to leisure-time getaways and to stimulate investment in permanent housing. The problem that revealed itself here was that most holiday cottages were built by citizens who *already owned* an urban home.⁷⁰ This meant that people who lived in social housing or owned their home property were the

⁶⁷ According to Alfier (1987, p. 252), an attempt to introduce a special law regulating all aspects of the *vikendica* as part of the new housing law of 1974 was unsuccessful.

⁶⁸ “Socijalna politika—sastavni dio udruženog rada,” *Informativni pregled*, 4 (1973), p. 7. Ten years later the same problems still existed, see: “Tvoj dinar za moj stan,” *Danas*, 12 March 1985, pp. 12–4.

⁶⁹ A photograph in *Danas* showed a brick wall smeared with graffiti: “Imaš kuću, ne daj stan” (“You have a house, don’t give up the flat”). *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁰ Alfier (1987, p. 254). My interviews confirmed that *vikendica*-owners had a primary home in town. Alfier further attempted to quantify *vikendi-*

most likely to accumulate the necessary resources to build a *vikendica*. In this case, they were not gravely deterred by the tax. In contrast, urban newcomers or people whose enterprise was unable to provide social housing for all employees exploited their resources in the struggle to purchase or build a city home in the first place.⁷¹ For these families, putting funds aside for a getaway was out of the question.

From Coziness to Capital

Ultimately, people in Yugoslavia did not have to be “rich” to acquire a *vikendica*—they merely had to have solved their housing situation. Larger incomes were even able to provide *two* holiday retreats: a summer cottage on the sea and a *vikendica* closer to home, for example. Belgrade citizens with cottages on the distant Adriatic could use cheap domestic flights offered by the national airline *JAT* to hop to their holiday homes. The family with the summer residence in Rovinj occasionally flew from Belgrade to Pula, and on to Rovinj by car, for a long weekend. In the 1980s, they built an additional *vikendica* surrounded by a large garden in the husband’s village of origin some 70 km from Belgrade. They visited this getaway frequently by car with their daughter. Having a *vikendica* was particularly attractive to people with young children or who were looking forward to retirement and grandchildren. *Vikendica* owners were not bound to making bookings for their holidays or fit in with the schedules of the social tourism organizations.⁷² Often, parents delivered toddlers to grandparents installed from spring to autumn in the family getaway for care during the working week. The multiple social functions of the *vikendica* can only be sketched here but span more than the will to demonstrate individual wealth and prestige that sociologists and architects accorded to *vikendica* and second home owners at the end of the 1980s.⁷³ Most town apartments were relatively small and people liked to expand their family living space into the countryside. The ex-urban domestic

ca-owners in Croatia by profession but stressed that data was fragmentary. The largest share was indicated as “unknown.”

⁷¹ Compare Berković (1986, pp. 60–92).

⁷² These observations are based on several interviews.

⁷³ Compare Poljanec-Borić (1991); Štraus (1991, p. 247).

ambiance was completed by the requisite extension of the Yugoslav kitchen: the barbeque grill. Some families transferred more than the individual home to their *vikendica* locality: they conveyed whole communities. In cases like the Dobre Vode colony mentioned above, neighbors or relatives swapped information about land available for *vikendica* development at a reasonable price. Over time they built holiday homes side by side, reconstructing the familiar spatial and social order of their home community. A typewritten list of the owners of summer cottages in Dobre Vode shows seven names with addresses in the same Belgrade suburb where the initiators lived, as well as a number of same family names.⁷⁴ According to interviewees in Croatia and Serbia, holiday colonies and neighborhoods were maintained and held together with plenty of congenial socializing.

Arguably, the holiday cottage represented a cozy family dwelling where people relaxed in the ways they favored most, but the *vikendica* was also a valuable commodity. As incomes in Yugoslavia grew in the 1960s and '70s, holiday properties became increasingly alluring in a country that restricted private business and other possibilities to accumulate capital. People felt that purchasing a *vikendica* made simple financial sense. "There was nowhere else you could invest your savings apart from buying a *vikendica*," a former diplomat from Belgrade said. Researchers have underlined this motivation in their studies.⁷⁵ Geographer Zlatko Pepeonik in 1983 even went so far as to suggest that the proliferation of holiday cottages and the resulting harm to coastal landscapes in Croatia could have been avoided if citizens had had other investment opportunities.⁷⁶ The advantage of having a second home to pass on to children became crucially clear as inflation withered family savings in the 1980s. Families who owned a *vikendi-*

⁷⁴ "Spisak vlasnika vikendica u Dobrim vodama—Bar," undated. The majority of the 90 listed owners have a Belgrade address, with a minority living in other parts of Serbia. Further, the list includes owners living in Bar, Skopje, Knin, Goražde, Sarajevo, Sweden, and France, as well as two locals from Dobre Vode.

⁷⁵ Jeršič (1968, pp. 53–64). See also the contributions by Alfier and Kušen in *Turizam i prostor. Ekološki aspekti konfliktnih situacija* (1987).

⁷⁶ "Most probably many of them [owners] would not have built them [holiday cottages] if they had had opportunities to invest savings somewhere else" Pepeonik (1983, pp. 101–2).

ca on the urban periphery invested their entire resources in extending the house to create a roof for children and other relatives in economically insecure times.⁷⁷

At the same time, holiday cottages in advantageous locations were also used to make money. *Vikendica* owners in the tourism regions already recognized this potential in the 1960s and energetically ignored tourism regulations. “A Thousand ‘Illegals’ on Krk,” the Croatian newspaper *Vjesnik* announced in the summer of 1967.⁷⁸ According to the article, over one thousand foreign and domestic guests were staying in new *vikendice* on the island of Krk without being registered, i.e., without the paying the sojourn tax (*boravišna taksa*). While calling for stricter regulation, tourism officials acknowledged that the holiday cottages represented indispensable tourism capacity. On Krk, the new cottages alone had some 2,500 beds.⁷⁹ According to the report, the municipal council took the decision to integrate the properties into the private accommodation offer during the tourist season when the cottages were “not being used by [the owners] themselves or close family members.” Two years earlier, the Croatian tourism association *TSH*, together with the Croatian council for catering and tourism, had already taken a step in this direction by recommending that tourism associations and travel agencies should negotiate available accommodation with the owners of holiday cottages.⁸⁰ Tourists plainly found the modern holiday cottages appealing. In comparison, village houses were old and lacked privacy, said a woman from Zagreb who rented out her tiny seafront *vikendica* in Central Dalmatia from the mid-1960s. “None of the Austrian and Germans who came wanted to be in the old houses, they want to be in something new and have something separate of their own,” she said. Her first five-year contract with the local tourism association came about by chance when a German vaca-

⁷⁷ Interview in Zagreb, 2006. This Zagreb family purchased a garden plot on the outskirts of town in the 1980s. The *vikendica* grew into a three-floor structure topped by a spacious loft. All four children were to receive an apartment there (the house was never completed).

⁷⁸ “Na Krku tisuću ‘ilegalaca’,” *Vjesnik*, 10 July 1967, p. 4.

⁷⁹ “‘Ilegalni’ turisti,” *Vjesnik*, 2 August 1967, p. 8.

⁸⁰ “Smjernice za rad društvenih i privrednih organizacija u narednom razdoblju,” *Turizam* 14/1–2 (1966), p. 21.



Figure 7. *Front terrace of a two-room summer bungalow in Central Dalmatia built in the 1960s by a couple from Zagreb. The bungalow was rented out to tourists in the high season.*⁸¹

tioner asked whether he could rent the bungalow for his family in the following year.

In Croatia, laws on private tourism accommodation in the 1970s put *vikendica* owners on a par with other house owners in the tourism regions. A 1974 provision in the Croatian law on catering and tourism prescribed the same conditions for rental, including restrictions on capacity.⁸² However, the situation was not consistently clear-cut,

⁸¹ Source: my photo, 2006.

⁸² "Zakon o ugostiteljskoj i turističkoj djelatnosti," *Narodne novine*, 1974, 19, čl. 107.

either on a federal or on the republican level. An amendment to the Croatian law in 1978 provisionally prohibited the renting out of buildings intended as holiday cottages or apartments.⁸³ But the ban lasted only one season—it was rescinded in 1979 with emphasis on the condition that holiday properties may be rented out only via tourism organizations.

Naturally, people with holiday cottages had different attitudes to their property and many never considered rental at all. In the “anything goes” atmosphere of the late 1980s, however, it became increasingly tempting for *vikendica* owners to make informal extra earnings from property on the Adriatic. Ankica, a shop assistant in Zagreb, bought a plot next to the *vikendica* of a colleague on the island of Krk in 1985. Her brother arranged friends from their home town to do the building, while her husband—a glazier—put in windows and glass decorations in the 120 m² two-storey house. Sanitary facilities in the new holiday property were basic: there was no running water, only a cistern with rainwater and a septic tank for the toilet. Water for washing or cooking was pumped from a nearby well. But inside the house new furnishings predominated, Ankica said. She had worked in Zagreb’s main department store, NAMA, and had been able to purchase furniture on credit. The couple began to rent out to Czech tourists, beginning with acquaintances from a Dalmatian nudist camp where they had spent their holidays for many years. Because Ankica knew a little Czech, she was able to communicate with other Czech tourists who frequented a restaurant nearby and would invite them over for a drink. “They liked it a lot at my place... I always made them coffee, gave them brandy (*rakija*), the children came... and we started a strong friendship,” she said. Back then, she had not registered her guests who had paid in Czech koruna, Yugoslav dinars or Austrian schillings for their stay. But today she is obliged to, she added.

⁸³ *Turizam* 27/9 (1979), p. 23.

Conclusion

The *vikendica* grew from being a haven of the elite to become everyman's idyll and a vital component of Yugoslav holiday culture. Although the private holiday retreat was touched by the brush of "conspicuous leisure," it accumulated a wealth of functions and meanings linked to broader developments in socialist society from the 1950s on. Most importantly for the population at large, the *vikendica* represented prosperity in a social as well as a cultural sense, a sign of economic well-being and social achievement, but also an expression of *knowing how to live well*. This was something that social tourism could not provide. Having a holiday cottage allowed owners to assume a wide range of identities outside the equalizing "worker" paradigm: from playing the magnanimous host to displaying knowledge about cultural heritage; from growing organic food to demonstrating craftsmanship; from proving their business sense to "conquering" one's own ex-urban territory. And because *vikendica* culture was dynamic, it permitted individualist escape as well as just the opposite, the opportunity for close-knit communities of neighbors or family, often newcomers to urban life, to shift into a geographically removed yet familiar recreational space. Hence, the *vikendica* was more than a status symbol, it became a way of life—or more precisely, a symbol for many individual ways to assert the self and experience pleasure, leisure, and sociability in an industrializing society.

Given the expansion of private building in the 1970s and 1980s it is close to impossible to draw a line between summer cottages, weekend getaways, and second homes, or to categorize them in a useful way. The amorphous character of the holiday cottage posed a permanent problem for socialist legislation that reacted to, rather than defined, changing practices of holiday and homemaking on the periphery of the tourism industry. Initially, *vikendica* owners and cooperatives independently sought agreement with municipalities regarding local infrastructures and were gradually, albeit imperfectly, integrated into them. Political and economic reforms subsequently eased existing practices of *vikendica* ownership and better anchored them in communal structures. Nevertheless, the diffusion of holiday cottages effected unforeseen physical changes to the landscapes of Yugoslavia. The emergence of an anarchic leisure architecture frustrated urban and tourism plan-

ning by claiming natural landscapes alongside and sometimes faster than the efforts of experts and their bureaus to shape emerging tourism regions. In addition, the *vikendica* transmitted a range of “foreign” aesthetic and cultural values into the country. The holiday cottages—or second homes—of migrant workers, for example, often grew into hybrid structures reflecting the architectural styles and representational symbols of the countries in which they were employed. At the same time, Yugoslav residents readily adopted fashions circulating throughout Europe in the 1970s and 1980s for re-creating the rustic in the decoration of the countryside cottage. The national connotations of such ornamental nostalgia would merit further study.

All in all, holiday cottages and colonies caused genuine concern on the government level about the impact of uncontrolled construction on the environment and regional cultures. The multifarious appearance of the *vikendica* in a state dedicated to equality did not go uncommented upon, either. Already in the early 1960s, holiday cottage became a vehicle of political criticism when Tito himself accused Party members of “self-enrichment” through tapping state funds for holiday properties. As a society-wide phenomenon, also, the *vikendica* remained a contested object that provoked debate about how much socialist citizens should and should not be permitted to own. However, such deliberations in Party settings hardly touched on people’s desire to possess their own getaway. Herein lurked the unsolvable ideological dilemma: did the *vikendica* represent the remnant or even re-strengthening of “bourgeois” values, or should it be considered as a welcome by-product of the higher living standard enabled by the self-management system? Unlike social tourism holidays, the state could not pledge holiday cottages as a social entitlement. They clearly belonged to the sphere of consumer culture, and like other available consumer goods affirmed Yugoslavia’s claim to represent a “better” form of socialism. More controversially, holiday cottages conveyed social distinction into the public space as the product of the efforts and resources at the disposal of individuals. Yet the representational signs of class and power inscribed in the *vikendica* were highly ambivalent. Firstly, the social housing program allowed not only people with more resources (political or economic) to afford a *vikendica* but also workers at the lower end of the income scale. On the other hand, the shortcomings of housing provision meant that citizens who were unable to secure a social

apartment were unlikely to find the necessary resources for a *vikendica*, whichever milieu they belonged to. Secondly, the Yugoslav “middle class” often owned far more modest holiday cottages in terms of size and conveniences than labor migrants, who earned abroad and built new houses in their home villages. Citizens with lower education, too, tended to construct larger *vikendice*, even at the cost of less comfort. And thirdly, the experience of families in the early phase of socialism influenced the style of their holiday property. People from formerly “wealthy” families, who had seen their property nationalized, tended to opt for smaller holiday cottages or apartments, keeping in mind that property rights may not be taken for granted. At the same time, they were inclined to affirm their cultural capital by collecting artifacts valued for their artistry and cultural significance in the leisure retreat.⁸⁴

Finally, although the *vikendica* represented a vibrant leisure and holiday culture, holiday property ownership also constituted an economic practice. Socialism seemingly did little to alter people’s conviction about the benefits of private ownership even when they enjoyed living in a state-owned apartment. The *vikendica* offered the opportunity to accumulate resources in the hope that, although returns might be limited in the socialist economy, at least funds—as well as labor—had been securely invested and for the time being provided a legally protected second home. In the tourism regions, owners additionally recognized the money-making potential of the holiday cottage in the formal and informal tourism economies. Despite the status-linked and economic importance of the holiday cottage, social values such as maintaining relationships with family and friends in an intimate atmosphere remained in the foreground for cottage owners. Investment in a holiday cottage therefore represented investment in a double sense: in economic stability and social security. Nobody foresaw the wars of the 1990s that wrested holiday properties from thousands of owners—and where some young men hid to avoid military service.

The *vikendica* owners I interviewed in 2006 regretted that the young generation lack interest in the family cottage. Reasons included

⁸⁴ Here I refer to the biographies and comments of an interviewee in Zagreb and two in Belgrade.

limited free time, a lack of funds, the untempting tasks required for its upkeep, later starting of families, study abroad, or preference for more exotic holiday destinations. In addition, some holiday cottages were now located in “other” countries of the former Yugoslavia.⁸⁵ Already in the late 1980s, the *vikendica* no longer corresponded to the leisure lifestyles of the more mobile, urban younger generation. However, adults of all ages still relate to the *vikendica* as a salient cultural articulation of the Yugoslav “good life,” even if their family never actually owned one.

⁸⁵ During and after the wars of the 1990s, second homes belonging to citizens from other republics were often confiscated by local government authorities, or the owners were forced to sell their property to locals at a vastly reduced price. Many confiscated houses were also used to shelter refugees. Today, property relations remain unresolved in numerous cases.

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Highways of Desire

Cross-Border Shopping in Former Yugoslavia, 1960s–1980s

Maja Mikula

Ponte Rosso, Via Carducci and Piazza Unità became our new main centers, our highways of desire, our coveted havens!

[...]

Busloads of lucky people clutching fervently onto their precious plastic bags, and their travel bags overflowing with colorful trophies. The socialist workers from Banat and Macedonia, from Bosnia, but also from Dalmatia and Zagreb, along the highway of their brotherhood and unity, all the way to Italy and back.¹

Although the violent breakup of socialist Yugoslavia continues to cast a shadow on people's memories of the former country, some "sunnier" aspects of daily life during socialism seem to resist historical amnesia. One of these is the ritual of shopping abroad, which emerges as an oddly recurrent theme across the gamut of former Yugoslav popular cultural texts, media, and genres. Almost invariably, cross-border shopping is evoked with fondness and nostalgia, and associated with what some remember as the Yugoslav era of peace and plenty.

As an exceptionally widespread cultural practice, cross-border shopping involved Yugoslavs of varying ethnic, socioeconomic, cultural, and educational backgrounds. Among the reasonably well-to-do in former Yugoslavia, those who refused to engage in cross-border shopping were very rare. Reflecting the stereotypical representations of gender and generational divide, they were most frequently either males who claimed not to be interested in shopping *per se*, or older people, presumably unaffected by the consumer frenzy.

¹ Šerbedžija (2004, p. 32). The translation is mine.

In this paper, I examine cross-border shopping in former Yugoslavia in the period between the mid-1960s and early 1980s, and its significance in people's memories of the now defunct socialist state. The aim of my account is to discover how former Yugoslavs make sense of that aspect of their socialist past, and how they relate their individual experiences to the broader social context.

Methodology and Concepts

Several recent studies testify to the pertinence of cross-border shopping in the cultural makeup of former Yugoslavia. At least three of these² deal with the scope, significance, and cultural impact of this practice on the social change, identities, and everyday life in the Republic of Slovenia. This is not surprising, considering Slovenia's geographic position, adjacent to two of the three "Western" capitalist countries sharing borders with the former Yugoslavia.³ The broader focus of my research has led, inevitably, to somewhat different conclusions than those emerging from the previous scholarship on the topic. As will become clear from the discussion that follows, these conclusions pertain not only to the nature of the phenomenon, but also to its relationship to state branding and the ethno-national awareness of the peoples of former Yugoslavia.

While drawing on the insights from recent scholarship, my research is pitched at the pan-Yugoslav level and based on qualitative data gathered from respondents living in various former Yugoslav republics. The literary/textual component of my research is based on a review of relevant cultural texts, including novels, memoirs, television series, and pop songs. The ethnographic component is founded on data collected in 2006 and 2007 through 22 in-depth oral-history interviews, some of which had a mini-focus group format; email correspondence with 12 respondents; and a comprehensive online questionnaire designed to yield mostly qualitative data,⁴ which was completed by 27 respondents.

² Luthar (2006); Repe (1998); and Švab (2002).

³ Italy and Austria; the third country was Greece.

⁴ Most questions were open-ended or designed to elicit paragraph-length narrative responses.

All my respondents can be described as belonging to the “new class” of the former Yugoslavia,⁵ either as university-educated professionals or specialized trades people.⁶ It needs to be emphasized here that, in contrast to Milovan Đilas, who introduced the term “new class” in the 1950s,⁷ Patrick Patterson uses it to refer to a broader segment of the Yugoslav population, which emerged during the country’s economic boom of the 1960s. Members of this new class, Patterson explains, “busied themselves shopping for, buying, and enjoying all the tangible things and intangible experiences that their newfound positions of economic privilege afforded them”.⁸ The new class, he argues,

was by no means a small, restricted group of the powerful, well-connected, and influential. Quite to the contrary, all this fervid and altogether conspicuous consumption was now, in fact, the domain of more or less ordinary Yugoslav citizens. To be sure, serious differences in earnings and disposable income remained, and the Yugoslav Dream remained unattainable for many people. But the new life of plentiful pleasures and comparative material comfort was within reach for enough of the population to sustain it as a realistic hope even for those who could not at the moment share in the dream fully. The new vision of consumer abundance was grounded firmly enough in Yugoslav social and economic realities to give it substantial legitimacy as a dominant cultural model for the country as a whole—and this was something quite rare in a society in which ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural, and economic differences hampered the development of any notion of a pan-Yugoslav culture.⁹

Scholars disagree as to whether cross-border shopping, as it was practised *en masse* in socialist Yugoslavia, can be categorized as “shopping tourism” or not. While Švab deploys the term without questioning its usage, Luthar argues that the connotations of the word “tourism” do

⁵ Patterson (2001).

⁶ In the period under investigation, most of my respondents were in their formative years, and all lived in major urban centers across the republics of former Yugoslavia. The slight majority, fifty-five percent, is female.

⁷ Đilas (1983 [1957]).

⁸ Patterson (2001, p. 3).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

not apply to the shopping expeditions to Trieste, as these were practiced by Yugoslav shoppers. According to Luthar, these trips were always “experienced as calculated work, which involved discipline and control to stroll past goods on display, not hedonistic strolling, browsing and shopping.”¹⁰ Trieste was thus never perceived as a “Mediterranean city worthy of a tourist’s gaze, but rather as a site of spectacular images of material artifacts in shop windows and well-dressed people in the streets.”¹¹ Luthar acknowledges that shopping in Trieste also included a ludic or sensual aspect, but describes this facet of the practice as always “integrated into the purchase-driven activity and within the instrumentalism of work.”¹²

While this is a very apt description of shopping in Trieste as it was practiced by a significant segment of the Yugoslav population,¹³ there are other remembered scenarios, many of which foreground precisely the ludic, sensual, and above all social and identitarian nature of the practice. I therefore use the term “cross-border shopping,” which has been defined simply as the “movement of people across an international border with the expressed intention of buying goods and then returning home.”¹⁴ This term implies the intentionality of the shopping act, without circumscribing the scope of other activities that may (or may not) take place during the trip. More generic than shopping tourism, the term is taken here to apply to a range of interrelated cultural phenomena, which permeated all segments of Yugoslav society in the time of the country’s peak economic prosperity.

Cross-Border Shopping: A Many-Faceted Cultural Practice

The nature and formal properties of cross-border shopping in the former Yugoslavia changed over time, reflecting to a considerable extent the evolving political and economic processes at work in the country in the period after the Second World War. In the 1950s and early ‘60s,

¹⁰ Luthar (2006, pp. 247–8).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p. 248.

¹³ All of Luthar’s (2006) respondents were from the western part of Slovenia.

¹⁴ Donnan and Wilson (1999, pp. 118–9).

trips abroad were still fairly restricted, and thus mainly limited to family visits and organized excursions. One of my respondents, a man from Zagreb, remembers his first trip abroad to visit his aunt in the northern Bavarian city of Bayreuth:

I visited my auntie in 1958, during the summer school vacation... I remember that, when filling the application form to obtain a passport, I had to declare what I was doing during the war. In my case, the answer did not cause suspicion, because I was still a child. I got my passport, and at the age of sixteen, I departed from Zagreb Central Railway Station, on my own, to "see the wide world." That was my first "shopping" trip.¹⁵

Following the economic reforms of the 1960s, the Yugoslav economy had incorporated elements of the free-market system that allowed the development of a lifestyle superior to that of any other country in the Eastern Bloc. Under the Yugoslav system, private initiative was permitted for small businesses and agricultural estates, while the majority of the country's factories and enterprises were "socially owned" and run on the basis of worker self-management. In the mid-1960s, Yugoslavia opened up towards the West, and passports, with hardly any administrative restrictions, became available to the majority of the citizens. Visas for the neighboring countries were also abolished. From 1962 onwards, Yugoslav citizens were allowed to purchase foreign currency legally and to keep designated foreign-currency bank accounts. Hard currency was relatively easy to obtain from the Yugoslav guest workers. Furthermore, in the most popular shopping destinations across the border, such as Trieste, shopkeepers typically accepted the Yugoslav currency, dinar, at an exchange rate that was more favorable than the official one. As living standards improved, Yugoslav citizens began to travel abroad in large numbers, for both recreation and shopping. The desire for foreign goods, especially those associated with a "Western" lifestyle, was encouraged and sustained through the continuing cultural influence of the Yugoslav guest workers living in the affluent Western European countries.¹⁶

¹⁵ All translations of interview materials are mine.

¹⁶ See, for example, Patterson (2001) and Szerbhorváth (2002).



Figure 1. *Istanbul, 1975*

Targeted shopping trips across the borders of the former Yugoslavia did not begin in earnest until the early 1970s. Italy, Austria, and Greece soon became the most popular destinations for the shoppers from former Yugoslavia, closely followed by Turkey and Hungary.

It needs to be noted, however, that only Italy was regularly visited by shoppers from all the former Yugoslav republics. Shopping trips to Thessaloniki in Greece were common from Macedonia. Those responsible for the household affairs went there to replenish their larders with Greek olives, olive oil, and *metaxa*.¹⁷ Although clothes and leather goods were also often bought there, they were not considered as “trendy” among the younger generation. Greece was also a common destination for summer vacations, as it was far less expensive than other European countries. The popularity of other countries was to a considerable extent determined by their relative vicinity to the shopper’s place of residence and/or cultural interests: Austria was more popular among the

¹⁷ A popular Greek distilled spirit.

Croats and the Slovenes; and Turkey among the Macedonians and the Bosnians. In Italy, Trieste was the main destination for the Yugoslav shoppers, followed closely by Udine and other centers close to the land border between Yugoslavia and Italy. Ancona, Pescara, and Bari were also frequently visited, as these Italian cities could be easily reached by sea, thanks to regular ferry services from Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik, and Bar. Shopping trips to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland usually targeted specific kinds of goods, such as Hungarian food and kitchen utensils, Czech crystal, and Polish silver jewelry and graphic arts. Those Yugoslavs who had opportunities, through their occupational or family ties, to travel further a field, could do their shopping—commensurate with their financial standing—in countries such as England, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, or the USA.

If, while shopping in Italy, some Yugoslavs had “feelings of shame and embarrassment” because they were poorly dressed compared with the Italians,¹⁸ in countries such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland they could nurture feelings of superiority because their con-



Figure 2. *London, 1978*

¹⁸ Luthar (2006, p. 252).

suming power was clearly higher than that of the locals. One of my respondents, from Slovenia, remembers that some of her family members often went on bus trips to Czechoslovakia in the 1970s. They did that, she believes, “because it was cheap there... and because they could show to the Czechs that they had more. They would actually bring things from Yugoslavia to sell in Czechoslovakia. I couldn’t believe what wonderful things they bought in Czechoslovakia, for nothing... fur, jewelry, and the like.” A respondent from Sarajevo reports that, from the Eastern parts of Yugoslavia, people bartered their wares in Hungary and Romania, in exchange for beautiful handmade lace, bed linen, and tablecloths, which were used by Yugoslav fashion designers to make highly sought-after pieces of clothing.

Depending on their economic means, interests, and needs, Yugoslavs crossed borders to shop in department stores, at markets and street stalls, in small shops, exclusive boutiques, and, in the 1980s, in factory stores and outlet centers.¹⁹ Most commonly, they were buying clothing, underwear, nylon, and later polyester and lycra stockings, leather and calico shoes, and handbags. Perfumes, toiletries, and taxable goods such as alcoholic drinks and cigarettes also figured significantly on the Yugoslav cross-border shopping lists during that period. Household items, sanitary products, and food supplies became more prominent during the periods of frequent and severe shortages of these goods in the 1980s. Then came everything else: toys and baby prod-

¹⁹ The “shopping streets” remembered by my respondents as particularly popular among former Yugoslav shoppers were Via Carducci and Corso Italia in Trieste, Corso Cavour in Bari, Via Veneto in Rome, and Tsimiski Street in Thessaloniki. Trieste’s Borgo Teresiano district, an area near the city’s railway station, used to brim with cheap shops catering for Yugoslav clientele. A recent report estimates that, in this area—popularly called by the locals the “district of the *jeansinari*” (jeans sellers)—between 60,000 and 65,000 pairs of jeans were sold every week during the heyday of the 1970s. See Klevisser (2006, p. 80). Within Borgo Teresiano, the marketplace of Ponte Rosso had the reputation of being the quintessential locale of Yugoslav shopping in Trieste. Another shop that has a significant place in many people’s memories is the outlet of the now defunct Swiss jeweler and watchmaker Darwil in Trieste’s Piazza S. Antonio Nuovo, which operated very successfully in the 1960s and early ‘70s, due in no small part to Yugoslav shoppers.



Figure 3. *Venice, 1981*

ucts; cosmetics; jewelry; sports and fishing equipment; tools; kitchen utensils; car and boat accessories; technical equipment; cameras and photographic accessories; music records and cassettes; arts and crafts supplies; comics, magazines, books, and artworks.

Among the fashion-conscious younger generation of the 1970s and '80s, the "must-have" brands included Lacoste, Benetton, and Robbe di Kappa for T-shirts, jumpers, and cardigans; Levi's, Lee, Wrangler, Rifle, Carrera, and Swinger for jeans; Bally, Madras, and Bata for shoes; Converse, Fila, and Adidas for sports apparel and shoes. For young people, Trieste became the fashion Mecca and the true apotheosis of "Western" affluence. The young eagerly accepted every new fad that became available in Trieste's shops and street stalls. Many of these fads lingered in people's memories for many years after the fashion had faded.

Some of these were the long polyester raincoat (*šuškavac*), the high-waist bell-bottom jeans (*svingerice*), the hard-tipped shoes (*brukserice*), the ankle-high suede shoes (*sajmonice*, *spenserice*, or *stoperice*), the US-military style jackets (the longer variety was known as *vijetnamka* or *komandosica* and the shorter as *tankerica*), the Mont-

gomery-style duffle coats (*đubretarac*), and the yellow and navy blue reversible rain jackets (*kabanica s dva lica*), to name only the few items that most clearly acted as social markers.²⁰

The heyday of former Yugoslav cross-border shopping lasted nearly two decades. Its decline began with the economic crisis of the early 1980s, when the heavily indebted Yugoslav government decided to restrict the country's outflow of private money by introducing heavy deposits for cross-border travel. The ensuing downturn in cross-border shopping was later exacerbated by the war that led to Yugoslavia's disintegration in the 1990s. Eventually, cross-border shopping was made all but obsolete as the newly independent states opened up their markets and progressively plugged into the global flows of capital and commodities.

The two principal reasons for cross-border shopping given by my respondents were the wider choice of products and the considerable appeal of anything that came from the "West." These two reasons were closely followed by those of the shortages of certain products in former Yugoslavia, and the higher quality of products across the border. Shopping items were mostly intended for personal consumption, as gifts for family and friends, or as bribes for doctors, nurses, and various officials in the positions of power, in exchange for their services. They were also used in private enterprises, such as cafés, restaurants, or hairdressing salons. Some items were simply not available from the Yugoslav shops, or were expensive when bought from a dealer. In particular, clothes made in Yugoslavia were often considered "uncool" (*bez veze*). One respondent, from Bosnia, describes the Italian clothes she used to wear, which "were colorful, had interesting designs, were made of beautiful materials, and thus differed from the black-brown-navy color trio, which had the reputation in Yugoslavia of being more durable, less susceptible to soiling, and perfect for everyday wear and tear." Similarly, a woman from Macedonia remembers that Western products had a special appeal among her peers in Skopje: "That whole generation grew up thinking that the West was something special, an ideal to aspire to. Many of my friends actually ended up living in a 'Western' country. That did not mean that we did not love our own country, but the West was our ideal."

²⁰ Douglas and Isherwood (1996 [1979], pp. 44–5).

The most common pattern for the cross-border shopping trips was twice a year,²¹ but those residing closer to the border, and those whose jobs involved travelling shopped in other countries once a month or even more often. Day trips typically took place on Saturdays, and longer shopping trips, which included recreational activities other than shopping, were often reserved for major public holidays, such as International Workers' Day on 1 May and the national Republic Day on 29 November. Half of my respondents remember their shopping trips as quite tiring, but nevertheless interesting and exciting. Almost without exception, they remember these trips as social events, undertaken in the company of family or friends. Yugoslavs travelled by buses, by car, or by train, and even by plane to more distant destinations. Tour operators such as Putnik, Lasta, Turistička zajednica Sarajevo, or Generalturist had regular bus trips to Trieste, with those on Saturdays being the most popular. Another common practice was to "spice up" work-related travel with cross-border shopping expeditions. During the 1970s, cross-republic gatherings, trade fairs, and academic symposia often took place in the vicinity of Yugoslavia's borders with Italy or Austria, and were seen as occasions for quick shopping jaunts to the "other side." A man from Split recalls crossing the Austrian border twice a day during IBM seminars that were taking place in Radovljica in Slovenia, for no other reason but to "indulge the travel bug." Another respondent, a male from Macedonia, remembers his "great escape" to Trieste, along with three other students and one lecturer, from the annual student gathering, Elekrijada, when this event was taking place in Istria or the Gulf of Quarnero:

As participants, we were not allowed to cross the border. That time, four of us, three students and one lecturer, hired a rental car and left very early, to go shopping in Trieste. We had to be back by dinner, because that was when they used to take roll call. But, we were ten minutes late, and everyone knew we were up to no good. All our friends covered up for us, saying: "Oh, I just saw him a moment ago... he must be somewhere around..."

²¹ As a respondent from Croatia put it, "usually once before winter and then once again before summer," to replenish the wardrobe.

For those former Yugoslavs who resided in the areas adjacent to the border, cross-border shopping was facilitated by the existence of border-pass cards (called *propusnica* or *iskaznica*), which entitled the bearer to customs privileges unavailable to ordinary border crossers.²² In these areas, called *pogranična zona* or *malogranična zona*, goods often travelled across the border in both directions. Slovene meat, for example, was in high demand on the Italian side of the border. A woman originally from that area recounts:

My family had many friends in the old Gorizia. We lived in Solkan.²³ My family comes from those parts which used to be Italy before the war. My aunties knew many people there. And this was very interesting; meat was cheaper and better in Slovenia than it was in Italy. My aunties used to smuggle meat across the border, and sell it there for hard currency. I remember, as residents of the border area, we used to have border-pass cards, which entitled us to carry across a certain quantity of meat every month. My aunties would go on their bikes... That was how we got our *lire*, which we then used to buy things in Italy.

As Donnan and Wilson have noted, there is almost always “some form of economic differential at play between two nation-states, and some product, service, price or quality that is in more demand on one side of the border than on the other.”²⁴ Meat was not the only Yugoslav product that attracted shoppers from the other side of the border: fresh fish (especially the wild sea perch or *brancin*), the endangered date shell (*prstac*) and the Istrian truffle (*tartuf*) were some of the delicacies that were highly prized by Italian food lovers.

Because cross-border shopping was such a pervasive phenomenon in former Yugoslavia, any attempt to construct a plausible profile of the average shopper would be a futile endeavor. The cultural practice

²² For details, see Karadžić (1978).

²³ Solkan and Sv. Petar (Solcano and San Pietro in Italian), the two easternmost suburbs of the Italian town of Gorizia with a majority Slovene population, were handed over to Tito's Yugoslavia in 1947 by the Paris Peace Treaty. These two communities formed the nucleus around which the new city of Nova Gorica was later built.

²⁴ Donnan and Wilson (1999, p. 119).

of shopping abroad traversed a wide range of identifications, including ethnicity, gender, age, social standing, and cultural and educational background. As elsewhere in socialist societies, class differentiation in the former Yugoslavia of the 1960s and '70s was not clear-cut. While, on the one hand, there was a sizeable segment of the population participating in the "good life" that the country had to offer,²⁵ cleavages based on income, occupation, education, and lifestyle were becoming more prominent.

In the stories told by my respondents, this differentiation becomes evident from the kinds of goods bought abroad, types of shops patronized, and patterns of cross-border shopping expeditions. At the upper end of the spectrum, lifestyle choices, hobbies, and leisure pursuits determined the types of commodities that were sought across the border. For example, a male respondent from Zagreb recalled,

if you wanted to buy high-quality fishing equipment, or at least see the best selection of it, you had to go to France. The best cameras and the best choice of photographic equipment were in Germany. If you wanted to buy the cheapest gold, or objects made of gold, you had to go to Lebanon.

At the lower end of the spectrum, black-market trade was adopted as a survival strategy, or at least as a means of improving a person's living standards. Several respondents reported that some of their friends or acquaintances adopted that practice to support themselves while studying, or to complement their meager income. In Trieste, the more affluent shoppers asserted their "distinction"²⁶ by shopping in the more expensive establishments of Via Mazzini, Corso Italia, or Via Carducci, thus disassociating themselves from the "smugglers" and "cheap shoppers" who patronized the run-of-the-mill jeans shops of the Borgo Teresiano district. A prominent group engaged in petty trading was Roma women. A female respondent from Sarajevo recalls:

The Roma women from Sarajevo used to go to Trieste to buy jeans, underwear, and similar things... They would arrange them in little piles in the street, or on a market stall. At the time, it was impossible

²⁵ Patterson (2001, p. 4).

²⁶ Bourdieu (1977 [1972]).

to find larger sizes of underwear in Yugoslavia. Their customers were mostly retired women and housewives. As young girls, we did not even look at those things, we thought they were funny. And the Roma women would say, these things are from Italy, from Trieste, they have only just arrived... Then they were not there for five or six days, and then they came again.

The age group most fully involved in the practice of cross-border shopping were those who were in their formative years, that is, in their teens or early twenties, in the 1960s and '70s. As regards the gender distinctions in my respondents' memories of their shopping experiences, they reflect the stereotypical rhetoric reported by previous researchers.²⁷ As Campbell has argued, the male shopping rhetoric is typically focused on need, while the female rhetoric seems to be centered upon want and desire.²⁸ In a similar vein, a female respondent from Zagreb remembers her childhood expeditions to Trieste, always with her mother and a group of her mother's female friends. Her father refused to go, as "he did not care what he was wearing. There was no way that he would ever go from one shop to another, trying on clothes." According to this respondent, her father loathed those trips that had the sole purpose of shopping, and considered them "petit-bourgeois activities."

Most of my respondents remember their cross-border shopping expeditions as important social occasions, always undertaken with friends or family. For example, a male respondent from Zagreb noted that, "in the company of others, it was easier to face the challenges of the trip, such as the customs, or not knowing the language, or having to find our way in an unfamiliar city." As Lehtonen and Mäenpää have argued, shopping always "provides a means for the creation and maintenance of social relations, and in this way it affects the process of social identification."²⁹ Several of my respondents remember long-distance travel by public transport as an occasion to socialize with fellow travelers. The atmosphere on the tour buses, a woman from Sarajevo recalls, was "typical for the Yugoslavs in those times. People would start eating and drinking almost immediately, ten kilometers away from the departure point. They would share their food and offer

²⁷ See, for example, Campbell (1987; 1997).

²⁸ Campbell (1997, p. 175).

²⁹ Lehtonen and Mäenpää (1997, p. 151).

it to other passengers, and of course, to the driver and the conductor, too.” Longer train trips, like those from Skopje to Trieste, are remembered with particular fondness as an occasion for making new friends along the way:

Those trips were a fantastic experience! I always travelled by night from Skopje to Trieste, with at least five or six of my friends, and we always had great fun and many adventures during the trip. New passengers would always board the train in Niš.³⁰ They were those who worked in Slovenia, and they would always have bacon, onion, all sorts of home-made sausages, so they would feed us for the rest of the trip.

A peculiar form of bonding was achieved through complicity in “hiding” the goods bought on the other side of the border, to avoid paying customs duty. Many respondents remember wearing old clothes for the trip, disposing of them at the shopping destination, and putting on the clothes that had just been bought there. Smaller items were hidden inside sandwiches, tucked inside underwear, under shoe soles, or in the double bottom of a handbag. Also, things were hidden in car boots or under the lining on car doors; clothes were tucked in between bus seats or quickly passed to the compartments of a train that had already been visited by the customs officers. Alternatively, a bag that “belonged to no one” was left somewhere on the train, and if the customs officers happened to find it, they would simply take it without further questions. Sometimes, they were distributed among those passengers who carried fewer goods than was officially allowed. Bus drivers were often accomplices in these maneuvers, and so were customs officers. A woman from Sarajevo remembers that

trips to Turkey regularly ended with creative packing, so that the luggage appeared of the acceptable size. I have never gone there, but smuggling from Turkey was then so widespread that one could always easily find five people who had “just returned” from there, with their lively stories about how they bribed the Bulgarian customs officers, etc. Our customs officers would also let things pass with a small bribe (chocolate, cigarettes, alcohol), while Slovene officers were known for their intransigence.

³⁰ A city in south-eastern Serbia.

In her study of shopping expeditions to Trieste from socialist Slovenia, Breda Luthar notes the “arbitrariness of customs officials regarding law enforcement,” and adds that this arbitrariness contributed to the “feeling of uncertainty and risk taking, and to the internalization of restraint” among her interviewees.³¹ In contrast, my respondents have mixed memories of their encounters with the Yugoslav customs officers. A woman from Slovenia recalls that they were “never Slovenes. They were always Southerners. I remember, first of all, they showed no respect for us.” A woman from Bosnia, on the other hand, reports instances of camaraderie with customs officers in the overall underground economy of bribery and personal favoritism:

Someone would find out that an officer at a particular crossing is, say, a guy from Travnik... That was in the 1970s, when cafés began to appear everywhere. Whoever was able to do it went to Italy, to buy Gaggia coffee machines, frappé blenders. They knew “their” person would be at the customs, so they would fill truck-loads of those machines, beautiful glasses. Cafés in Sarajevo were as well equipped as those in Izola or Koper, closer to the Italian border. Literally, whole truckloads would just pass, and you would give something to the customs people, as a treat. It was all based on acquaintance, rather than on money changing hands. In those times acquaintance meant a lot.

The above example points to the porous boundaries between the public and the private spheres in former Yugoslav society. As Karin Taylor has argued, referring to Bulgaria, the social realm in socialist societies “cut across many lines that separate ‘public’ from ‘private’ in Western societies” as interaction was partly organized “along instrumental lines of bargaining, reciprocal favours, and the widespread practice of circumventing regulations.”³² Furthermore, outwitting those who represent institutional power did not necessarily involve negative connotations in the former Yugoslav imaginary, as it in fact underpinned the country’s very narrative of origin in partisan struggle, and the stories of Tito as a trickster, capable of maintaining the country’s independence from both the East and the West.³³

³¹ Luthar (2006, p. 243).

³² Taylor (2006, p. 18).

³³ Stories of Tito’s childhood, his illegal activism before the war, his antifas-

The “good life” was an important part of the former Yugoslavia’s branding, and shopping across borders was one of the ways to achieve it. It therefore comes as no surprise that the permissive attitude of the authorities concerning smugglers and private imports has been interpreted as “part of the highly effective political self-legitimation of the system”.³⁴ According to Patrick Patterson, people experienced this good life as Yugoslav citizens, that is, as beneficiaries of “specifically Yugoslav kind of state socialism—and not, say, as ethnic Slovenes, Croats, Magyars, etc., or as citizens of a given republic or residents of a given region.”³⁵ Tito himself, with his well-known penchant for expensive clothes, fine cigars, and extravagant pastimes, is remembered by one of my Slovene respondents as a “symbol of luxury, along with everything else. We had him as an ideal; that was who we were.”³⁶

Cross-Border Shopping, Popular Culture, and Yugo-Nostalgia

There is no doubt that, in the literary and popular-cultural corpus that can be described as “Yugo-nostalgic,”³⁷ cross-border shopping figures as a recognizable cultural topos. As early as 1969—and thus right in the midst of the period when cross-border shopping was reaching its peak—the ritual was immortalized in the concluding episode of the popular television series *Naše malo misto* (“Our Little Town”). Based on a screenplay by a writer and journalist from Split, Miljenko Smoje, and directed by Danijel Marušić, this thirteen-episode series still has a cult status across the former Yugoslav republics.³⁸ A chronicle of a fictional small town on the Adriatic coast in the period beginning shortly

cist resistance during the Second World War and his conflict with Stalin all fall into this category.

³⁴ Wessely (2002, p. 7).

³⁵ Patterson (2001, p. 43).

³⁶ Interestingly, the slogan “We are all Tito!” (“*Svi smo mi Tito!*”), widely promoted by the former Yugoslav ideological state apparatus, in fact implies that all Yugoslavs should emulate their President as a role model.

³⁷ This corpus encompasses both those texts that were in some way expressing or reflecting the nation-building rhetoric of socialist Yugoslavia, and those written since the 1990s, which pay nostalgic tribute to the former state.

³⁸ For Slovenia, see Velikonja (2002).

before the Second World War, and extending into the era of economic expansion and liberalization in the 1960s, the series portrays a gallery of memorable characters in their daily struggle for survival in a time of radical social and political change. In the last episode, the four main characters—Dotur Luidi, a Dante-loving medical doctor and Padua graduate (actor Karlo Bulić); his admiring and supportive *de facto* wife Bepina (Asja Kisić); the resourceful director of the town's only hotel, Roko Prč (Boris Dvornik); and Roko's parvenue wife Anda Vlačina (Zdravka Krstulović)—embark on a trip to Trieste, to buy a bridal gown for Bepina's long awaited formal wedding to Luigi. On the way back, at the border, Bepina's naïve honesty spoils their attempts to avoid paying customs duty for a car radio they had bought in Trieste.

It is no coincidence that shopping in Trieste appears in the grand finale of this legendary chronicle of ordinary life in former Yugoslavia. Despite the fact that the characters in the series spoke in the dialect of Split, not intimately familiar to viewers outside the coastal region, *Our Little Town* was widely seen as epitomizing provincial life anywhere in former Yugoslavia. This idea was also conveyed by the opening song of each episode:

Every one of our little towns
Has a clean soul
Because whatever comes to its mind
Just makes time pass on.
And if it so happens
That someone is hit by misfortune,
Well, my God!
What can one do?
It could always have been worse.³⁹

At the time when the series went to air for the first time, in 1969, many former Yugoslavs had just begun to buy their clothes across the Italian border, build weekend houses, and take out loans for their first cars.⁴⁰ Both on the television screen and in real life, shopping in Trieste represented a powerful object of desire and a promise of self-fulfillment, which was within the reach of ordinary people. In *Our Little Town*,

³⁹ The translation is mine.

⁴⁰ Adrić et al. (2004, p. 267).

this is accentuated by the fact that, for Bepina, the shopping episode serves as an overture to her long awaited wedding to Luidi, and her eventual illness and death in the same episode.

Patterson notes that, despite the overwhelming popularity of cross-border shopping in former Yugoslavia, “defection was never a major worry. Yugoslav shoppers left, and they came right back.”⁴¹ It is true that, as a topos in Yugoslavia’s nation-building narrative, the return home with trophies from the “other side” was at least as important as crossing the border. Trieste may have meant a “different kind of freedom, a different kind of feeling” to many Yugoslavs, actor Rade Šerbedžija remembers in his memoirs, but it was also very important to return home after the trip, with a feeling of achievement and victory.⁴²

This pattern of departure and return lies at the very heart of Yugoslavia’s nation-building narrative, as it emerges in its official state-sponsored guises, as well as a variety of popular cultural texts. A compelling example can be found in the classic children’s poem, *The Hedgehog’s House* (*Ježeva kućica*), written by Branko Ćopić shortly after the end of the Second World War.⁴³ This poem has been described as the “most loved Yugoslav book for children of all times.”⁴⁴ Dubravka Ugrešić, whose literary opus since the breakup of socialist Yugoslavia has been to a large extent devoted to rescuing the former country’s “sunny side” from historical erasure, describes *The Hedgehog’s House* as a “little, warm, innocent book,” which “became the property of generation after generation of children born in Yugoslavia.”⁴⁵ In the poem, the hedgehog Ježurka is a tireless hunter, respected by all the forest animals. One day, Ježurka is invited by the vixen to have lunch at her place. In the evening, after a sumptuous feast that has lasted several hours, he refuses the vixen’s invitation to stay overnight and insists on returning home to sleep. Along with three other animals—a

⁴¹ Patterson (2001, p. 11).

⁴² Šerbedžija (2004, p. 32).

⁴³ Ćopić (2001 [1949]).

⁴⁴ Adrić, et al. (2004, p. 176).

⁴⁵ Ugrešić (1998 [1995], p. 224). Ugrešić (ibid.) also mentions a “circle of Zagreb students who studied Lacan, Foucault, and Derrida assiduously, but proclaimed the ‘silly’ but ‘dear old *Hedgehog’s House*’ their cult book, and amused themselves by reciting lines learned by heart.”

mean wolf, a clumsy bear, and a dirty boar—the vixen follows the hedgehog to find out why he is so proud of his house. The animals are surprised to find out that Ježurka's house is not a palace, but a humble dwelling. Ježurka's explanation, in verse, was memorized word by word by many generations of Yugoslav school children:

How dear I hold my native home,
 Whatever it may be like.
 It is simple and modest, but it is mine.
 Here I am free and slave to no one.
 I am diligent, I work, and I hunt,
 And I live peacefully under my own roof.
 Only true villains, who go with the Devil,
 Would swap their home for a meal.⁴⁶

It was only after Yugoslavia had disintegrated that the topos of cross-border shopping assumed a clear symbolic value, as a badge of identity associated with the former country. This is perhaps most evident from several key texts written by journalist and literary author Slavenka Drakulić.⁴⁷ Drakulić makes it clear that cross-border shopping was a “key thing,” which distinguished former Yugoslavia from other socialist countries in Eastern and Central Europe:

People in the West always tend to forget *one key thing* about Yugoslavia,⁴⁸ that we had something that made us different from the citizens of the Eastern bloc: we had a passport, the possibility to travel. And we had enough surplus money with no opportunity to invest in the economy (which was why everyone who could invested in build-

⁴⁶ Ćopić (2001 [1949], p. 14). The translation is mine.

⁴⁷ Most notably, in her essay collections (1993; 1994). It seems apposite to keep in mind here that both Ugrešić and Drakulić were among the five women who became known as the “witches from Rio” (the other three were Rada Iveković, Vesna Kesić, and Jelena Lovrić), accused in 1992 in the Croatian press of allegedly tarnishing Croatia's reputation overseas by complaining about media control in the country at the Congress of PEN International Association of Literary Writers in Rio de Janeiro earlier that year. For more details about the affair, see Mikula (2005, pp. 93–4).

⁴⁸ The italics are mine.

ing weekend houses in the mid-sixties) and no outlet but to exchange it on the black market for hard currency and then go shopping. Yes, shopping to the nearest cities in Austria and Italy. We bought everything—clothes, shoes, cosmetics, sweets, coffee, even fruit and toilet paper... Millions and millions of people crossed the border every year just to savor the West and to buy something, perhaps as a mere gesture.⁴⁹

Elsewhere, Drakulić recalls the incredible allure of a doll bought during her first trip to Italy as a child. This large doll, with moveable blue eyes and dressed in an embroidered silk dress with “real” shoes and underwear, was “not just a doll but an icon, a message from another world, a fragment of one reality that pierced into the other like a shard of broken glass, making us suffer in some strange way, longing for the indefinite ‘other’.”⁵⁰ Her reference to “us” and the “other” in this context is, of course, a fairly explicit reference to psychoanalytic theories of identity, in which the doll—an “icon” of Western consumerism—is interpreted as the “constitutive lack” which made “us,” that is, the former Yugoslavs, who we were.

A similar articulation of cross-border shopping and former Yugoslav identity, albeit with a somewhat different class twist, is also posited by Dubravka Ugrešić. In her novel *The Ministry of Pain*,⁵¹ Ugrešić uses two images—the “gypsy bag” and the train to Trieste—to evoke another facet of cross-border shopping in former Yugoslavia: the black-market trading practiced among others, as was mentioned above, by Roma women. For Ugrešić, the “gypsy bag” (the cheap plastic bag with red, white, and blue stripes, which she associates with Roma women) is “like a parody of the Yugoslav flag (Red, white, and blue! We shall e’er be true!) minus the red star.”⁵² With more than a tinge of nostalgia, Ugrešić recalls:

Oh, the jeans, the T-shirts, the coffee that traveled in those bags from Trieste to Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria. [...] The plas-

⁴⁹ Drakulić (1994, pp. 135–6).

⁵⁰ Drakulić (1991, p. 59).

⁵¹ Ugrešić (2006).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

tic bags with the red, white, and blue stripes were nomads, they were refugees, they were homeless, but they were survivors, too: they rode trains with no ticket and crossed borders with no passport.⁵³

She remembers the train to Trieste as loaded with black market goods, and recounts a joke, which was popular at the time of Tito's death in May 1980:

The peak of the Trieste shopping spree coincided with Tito's death. Tito died at the age of eighty-eight, and one of the ways the event was marked was by a flurry of agricultural activity: one community planted "eighty-eight roses for Comrade Tito," another "eighty-eight birches for Comrade Tito" and so on. Hence the gypsy joke: A customs official on the train from Trieste asks a Gypsy, "What have you got in those sacks?" The Gypsy responds without missing a beat, "eighty-eight Levi's for Comrade Tito."⁵⁴

I conclude my review of the cross-border shopping topos in literary and popular-cultural texts with a song by the "Western" (Zagreb/Sarajevo) offshoot of the former Sarajevo pop band Zabranjeno pušenje ("No Smoking").⁵⁵ The song "Jugo 45"⁵⁶ takes the articulation of former Yugoslav identity and cross-border shopping further, by making it central to a narrative exalting the sentiment of brotherhood and unity, constitutive of the former Yugoslav nation-building rhetoric:

They say the world's wonders
Are the pyramids in Africa.
They say the world's wonders

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 69–70.

⁵⁵ The original band, which was disbanded during the war in Sarajevo, has two offshoots: the "Western" offshoot has kept the original name of the band, and the "Eastern" offshoot, which operates in Belgrade under the name of No Smoking Orchestra.

⁵⁶ The song appeared on the album *Agent tajne sile* ("The Agent of a Secret Power") released in 1999. In addition to being a car model by the Serbian manufacturer Zastava from Kragujevac, in its time second in popularity only to the omnipresent Fićo (Zastava 750), "Jugo 45" refers to socialist Yugoslavia and its official "date of birth" on 29 November 1945.

Are the big rivers in India.
But no wonder can ever
Match the sight
When my father parked
A Jugo 45 in our back yard.
[...]
That was a good time,
Everything on loan, everything for a friend,
Just fill the car with petrol
And drive off to Trieste to buy jeans.
[...]
Our neighbor Franjo
Borrowed it to sell apples,
Our neighbor Momo
When his wife was giving birth.
Uncle Mirzo took it
Whenever he went whoring.
Even I sometimes drove it,
When I got hold of the keys.
I took a peek one evening
As I heard voices in the back yard.
Momo, Franjo, and Uncle Mirzo⁵⁷
Were talking softly.
Then they shook hands
You can't go against your neighbor
And they drank a round
And left in silence.
Our Jugo 45 looked really small that evening.
Our Jugo 45 looked really small that evening.
We fled one morning
With two plastic bags
First down Lenin Street,
And then across Ljubljana Road.
We have a better life today
In a new town and in a new flat.
Our Dad has become a "big shot,"
A canton minister.
But, in my head, there is always

⁵⁷ The three neighbors represent the three Bosnian ethnic groups: Franjo as the Croats, Momo as the Serbs, and Mirzo as the Muslims.

The same image, the same flash from the past:
Our old house, and the Jugo 45
Parked in the back yard.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Today, citizens of the independent countries that once formed socialist Yugoslavia have no need to cross borders to access foreign goods, as major international retail chains have their outlets in most capital cities, and imported goods are generally readily available. Yet the phenomenon of cross-border shopping continues to represent a fascinating slice of recent history, because it was so deeply implicated in the nation-building narratives of the erstwhile country.

Its extreme popularity can be partly explained in terms of a projected cultural hegemony of the West, or as a “tactic” of adaptation to the living conditions under socialism. In order to understand this cultural practice fully, it is necessary to look at it from the perspective of former Yugoslavian nation building, to which it is intimately related. I have argued that cross-border shopping evoked manifold narratives that went beyond mere pragmatism, or a simple symbolism of status and prestige. These narratives hinged on an array of circumstantial factors, and cut across a variety of discourses and power relationships. Most importantly, they enacted, albeit in an ironic way, the hegemonic narrative of Yugoslavia’s “uniqueness” by “translating” it into the lived experience of “pleasures” unavailable in the countries of the Eastern bloc proper. At the same time, however, they were gnawing at the edges of Yugoslavia’s foundational narrative by channeling people’s desires and notions of what constitutes the “good life” towards capitalism and the “West.”

As the decline of cross-border shopping went hand in hand with Yugoslavia’s loss of legitimacy in the 1980s, it is possible to hypothesize that the experience of Western consumerism may have contributed to the eventual de-legitimization of the socialist state. Schol-

⁵⁸ Both the translation and the emphasis are mine.

ars have argued that consumer culture played an important role in consolidating the Yugoslav national community in the first place.⁵⁹ Could it be, then, that it was equally instrumental in bringing about Yugoslavia's eventual demise? To answer this question, one would need to disentangle the dynamic and ultimately fragile web of social, cultural, and ideological values that sustained the integrity of the country during the best part of its historical existence. While this task goes beyond the scope of this chapter, it is hoped that further research may provide useful insights in that direction.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Patterson, "The New Class", and Szerbhorváth, "Suffering and Legitimacy."

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Fishing for Tourists

Tourism and Household Enterprise in Biograd na Moru

Karin Taylor

The island of Mana in the Kornati archipelago is crowned by an artificial ruin: a stone archway built for a 1950s film production. Here, Austrian actress Maria Schell played a Mediterranean damsel in a motion picture filmed on the Adriatic coast in 1959.¹ The film turned out to be insignificant, but the production was crucial for a local man and ultimately for the region. Jakov, a fisherman and butcher, earned what was then a spectacular sum of money for transporting items required for the set in his boat, as well as for hauling in fish for a scene in the film. From his earnings, he bought a plot of land on the periphery of the town of Biograd na Moru where he built a single-storey house.² It was both a new home and the cornerstone of a household enterprise. Jakov was not a newcomer to the tourism business: he was a native of the neighboring island of Pašman, where islanders had rented rooms to tourists already before the Second World War. During the film shoot, Jakov persuaded Schell and her brother Maximilian to stay for some time in his family's island home, an old stone house just a short run by boat from the Kornati set. A few years later, from 1963, he offered rooms to tourists in his new house in the budding resort of Biograd.

Foreigners and domestic tourists began to arrive in Biograd in large numbers in the early 1960s when the new Adriatic Highway opened up the town to motorists. Many simply knocked on the doors of hous-

¹ *As the Sea Rages* (1959, directed by Horst Hächler, produced by Carl Szokoll). According to cinema critics, the Adriatic scenery was the only thing that recommended the film.

² Special thanks to Vinko and Marijeta Staglišić for their help and interest in this research.

es like Jakov's and asked for rooms. At the same time, the small fishing and trading centre catered for increasing numbers of holidaymakers who travelled to the coast via the Yugoslav social tourism system. Biograd na Moru lacked the historical sites that had made other Dalmatian towns famous as tourist destinations in the nineteenth century, and socialist planners designated it for development into a social tourism resort. Already in 1962, the tourism journal *Turizam* noted that Biograd was best known for the large number of *odmarališta* run there by trade unions and enterprises from all over Yugoslavia.³ Since social tourism capacity lagged behind demand, Yugoslav enterprises and organizations contracted rooms from locals to provide workers with accommodation and meals. Families such as Jakov's catered to social tourism vacationers but also continued to welcome individual holidaymakers outside official bookings. In this way, local homes rapidly developed into household economic hubs where social tourism provision and private tourism services unexpectedly intersected and influenced each other.

Interaction between households and the social tourism system seemed to contradict early Yugoslav plans to do away with private business, build a strong social tourism network, and develop a tourism sector managed by big enterprises. However, tourism statistics for Croatia from the mid-1950s already showed "private rooms" as a key factor in tourism capacity, reflecting an economic reality in the everyday business of tourism.⁴ In the following decades, household accommodation grew to surpass the capacity offered by *odmarališta* and competed with hotels and other commercial accommodation. In Biograd, a report from 1985 dourly stated that private accommodation and camping sites together made up a total of two-thirds of tourism capacity in the municipality (roughly one-third each).⁵ Still famed as a social tourism centre, Biograd's *odmarališta* offered only half as much accommoda-

³ "Unapređenje turizma u Zadarskom području," *Turizam* 10/12 (1962), p. 12.

⁴ "Promjene u strukturi prometa i korištenje raspoloživih kapaciteta," *Turistički pregled* 3/5–6 (1955), p. 3.

⁵ "Dugoročni razvoj turizma općine Biograd na Moru," *SIZ za razvoj turizma općine Biograd na Moru*, June 1985, p. 1. Unpublished report, archive of the tourism association of Biograd, *Turistička zajednica grada Biograda*.

tion capacity as private houses. The apparent triumph of private enterprise in the tourism sector was, however, closely linked to the government program to “make workers into tourists,” as indicated above. The “give and take” between the tourism organizations and Biograd’s self-appointed hosts—peasants and workers who opened their doors to holidaymakers—is the subject of this study.

On the one hand, services rendered by private hosts were subject to economic legislation that defined the character of the Yugoslav economy in general. The acute demand for seaside tourism accommodation shifted formerly marginal communities like Biograd closer to the centre of state plans for economic development. The subsequent failure of state investment to fully satisfy the needs of the tourism and catering industries then resulted in wide reassessment of tourism organization by economists and administrators on the regional, republican, and federal levels.⁶ Everyday activities at important junctures in the local tourism sector, not least relations between hosts and guests, shaped the tourism offer “on the ground” and in turn generated new conceptualizations of economic and political relations, making more room for small-scale business.

From an anthropological viewpoint, resort communities saw significant changes in how people made a living and reconstructed themselves as tourism hosts after 1945. Adriatic towns and villages became not only dynamic economic centers but also core sites of the social and cultural economies negotiating modernity in Yugoslavia.⁷ The ongoing process of home improvement linked to providing tourism accommodation embedded hosts in a lively consumer culture invigorated by exchange with guests from the major Yugoslav cities and abroad. With time, the population in the tourism resorts achieved higher living standards as well as a taste for consumer lifestyles. This trend challenged socialist ideology on the direction of modernization, to the benefit of all. Surveys published in the early 1980s showed that national income in the Adriatic tourism communities had risen significantly

⁶ Experts in other socialist countries were also proficient at pinpointing shortcomings in the tourism sector, but often frustrated in acquiring the resources to solve them. See contributions on the Soviet Union in Gorsuch and Koenker (2006).

⁷ Compare “Introduction” in Burawoy and Verdery (1999, p. 14).

beyond the Yugoslav average.⁸ Despite official affirmation of the tourism industry, and likewise of consumption as an essential element of societal development, some observers viewed the emerging private sector as well as the spending power of resort residents with skepticism. Sociological studies conducted in the 1970s and '80s dealing with social and cultural change on the Adriatic littoral precipitated debate about inequality in Yugoslav society. "The question can be posed as to whether the inhabitants of the tourism regions are privileged *nolens-volens*," wrote sociologist Simo Elaković in 1989.⁹ He saw socialist and humanist principles sacrificed to political "higher interests" ruling the tourism business and the re-emergence of blatantly "bourgeois" values in the Adriatic communities. Although Elaković revealed little about the empirical base of his report, a study he cited from 1985 indicates one of the reasons why the coastal population apparently enjoyed better living standards. Over 66 percent of respondents in the southern Dalmatian survey said that they had savings deposited in a foreign currency account. The percentage of respondents with such an account was higher in "developed tourist regions" than in "smaller, continental non-developed settlements": 73.4 percent compared with 37.3 percent.¹⁰ But even in the latter case, Elaković saw residents of communities *in proximity* to the tourism centers at an economic advantage over citizens living outside the tourism regions altogether. Needless to say, foreign currency was not on the payslip of Yugoslav employees. In conclusion, Elaković condemned the consumerist attitudes seemingly taking over from "traditional" values.

This study of tourism in Biograd na Moru gives less prominence to value change—a favored topos of sociological and anthropological tourism research—than to social and economic history. It explores the historical development of a regional tourism economy: the changing conditions of tourism production and the political and personal restructuring of resources as household economies integrated into the socialist tourism sector after 1945. However, it draws on ethnographic methodology: oral history interviews illuminate the experiences and choices of people in Biograd who catered to tourists until

⁸ See, for example, Andrić (1980, p. 50).

⁹ Elaković (1989, p. 123).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

1990.¹¹ Importantly, the narrative disclosed memories of the town's past that the fictions of socialist-era literature have tended to obliterate, such as the post-Second World War nationalization of property. At the same time, it must be underlined that recollections are framed by recent events and the assumptions of the present. The wars of the 1990s and the subsequent reconstitution of Croatia as an independent state shape how people in Biograd remember life in the former Yugoslavia. Biograd was on the frontline of the Serbian-Croatian conflict from 1991 to 1993 and many buildings in the town still bear the traces of bombardment. Further, shifts in power relations during the subsequent decade of "transition" influenced the conditions of empirical research for this study. Socialist-era documents were scarce.¹² The contemporary tourist association was guarded about providing material: although it contributed selected documents, it declined to open its archive for research. As a result, no documents were available tracing a single institution or agency over a period of time.

Interviews with former hosts and tourism experts were therefore crucial for coming to an understanding of how tourism worked in socialism. Biographical narrative is by its nature fragmentary and highly selective as people try to make sense of the past and their role in it. Yet reminiscences that suggested quite different standpoints—based for example on cultural identity or political conviction—yielded similar sentiments when it came to the role of tourism in individual and community history in the socialist era. Despite, or perhaps because of, the experience of the collapse of Yugoslavia, residents of Biograd invariably dwelt on the perception of tourism as a source of growing prosperity from the 1960s on. Former hosts remembered attracting tourists with a simple sign, *Sobe* or *Zimmer frei* (rooms for rent), as a secure and agreeable activity, unmarred by the fierce competition of today's market economy.

¹¹ I conducted interviews with tourism workers and local officials in 2006 and 2007.

¹² According to officials in the municipality, many documents no longer existed. Some cited war damage, while the question remains as to whether documents were also destroyed by intent or "misplaced" by new functionaries. My thanks to all institutions and individuals in Biograd who contributed material for my research.

From “Yugoslav Côte d’Azur” to Worker’s Riviera: 1930s to 1950s

When Jakov the fisherman was a boy on the island of Pašman in the 1930s, Biograd had a population of some 1,500.¹³ The small town already had a modest tourism industry dating back to the turn of the twentieth century and centering on nature, health, and sport. The nearby lake of Vrana and its marshy surroundings had attracted hunters from the landowning aristocracy.¹⁴ Furthermore, the town’s temperate Mediterranean climate, easy access to the sea and the many islands of Central Dalmatia, recommended it to bathers. Three guesthouses opened between 1906 and 1909.¹⁵ In addition, a park of pine trees was planted to the south, traversed by a gravel road leading along the Dražica bay to Soline beach. An old postcard shows the newly laid out beach complete with bathing cabins.¹⁶ A tourism association, called Soline, was founded in 1928. Biograd also saw important developments in infrastructure like the start of electrification in 1926 and improvements to the water supply. One decade later, a regional journal noted guests from various parts of Yugoslavia as well as from abroad: mainly from Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, and Hungary.¹⁷ Although it did not belong to the upper league of Yugoslav resorts like Opatija or Dubrovnik, an Austrian tourist passing by steamboat remarked on Biograd’s neat aspect: “Biograd does not actually make the impression of a town [or even] a larger settlement, but with its twinkling row of houses and splendid parks more closely resembles an inviting spa.”¹⁸ The single most important event of the 1930s was the opening of the Ilirija Hotel in 1934. Vagan Melik Karaganjan, an Armenian *émigré* engineer from the Soviet Union, saw excellent prospects for tourism in the area. Karaganjan had been contracted to build a hospital in

¹³ “Biograd na Moru,” *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, p. 572.

¹⁴ The early development of tourism in the Biograd region is linked with the name of the Borelli family and the establishment of Dalmatia’s first tourism association, Liburnija, in Zadar in 1899. See Maštrović (1971).

¹⁵ Božulić (1996, p. 9).

¹⁶ The postcard is undated; Božulić (1990).

¹⁷ Jurić (1990, p. 700).

¹⁸ “Biograd na moru, Stadt am Meer,” *Dalmatien*, p. 1.

Biograd and chose to stay on and construct a modern luxury hotel on the town's southeastern periphery. The stylish 200-bed hotel was opened with much pomp and local publicity. Boldly drawing a comparison with the French Côte d'Azur, the Dalmatian newspaper *Jadranski dnevnik* proclaimed that Biograd was destined to become the "Yugoslav Nice."¹⁹



Figure 1. *The original Hotel Ilirija, late 1930s*²⁰

Karaganjan announced plans to purchase the nearby island of Sv. Katarina and to build a casino there modeled on Monte Carlo. However, his plans were wiped out by the Second World War and the rise to power of Tito's Partisans. After 1945, the showcase Ilirija Hotel was nationalized. For a short time, Karaganjan's initials that had crowned the hotel in neon—VMK—were replaced by the name TITO. Even the word "hotel" was exchanged for the more socialist-sounding epithet *Dom odmora* ("rest house").²¹ Renamed Jadran, the establishment that had served wealthy patrons now catered to ordinary citizens.

¹⁹ "Svečano otvorenje velikog modernog hotela 'Ilirija' u Biograd na Moru," *Jadranski dnevnik*, 7 May 1934, p. 4.

²⁰ Source: HDA archive.

²¹ See photographs (dated 1950) in the photography section of the Croatian State Archive (Hrvatski Državen Arhiv, HDA). According to Gorka Božulić, director of Biograd's heritage museum in 2006, Karaganjan moved to Belgrade where he remained for the rest of his life. See further FN 79.



Figure 2. *The Hotel Ilirija crowned with the name “Tito,” 1950s²²*

Nationalization wrenched private enterprises from local families, too. Hotel Velebit, founded by tradesman Ante Jelić in 1908, had been extended in the 1920s to a capacity of 21 rooms. Before the Second World War, a printed brochure in Croatian and German advertised full board and excursions to the islands in the hotel’s own sailing boat during the summer season.²³ In the winter, the hotel was frequented by salesmen and other travelers who often ate their meals together with the family. After the establishment of socialist Yugoslavia, the enterprise and all three floors of the hotel became state property in 1948.²⁴ Bereft of any source of income, Ante Jelić’s sons addressed pleas to Croatian authorities in Zadar and Split in 1949 as well as to a federal commission in Belgrade.²⁵ The family was permitted to live in the

²² Source: HDA archive, C579-07.

²³ Brochure provided by the Jelić family.

²⁴ The hotel was nationalized on the basis of the law *Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona nacionalizaciji privatnih privrednih poduzeća*, SL FNRJ 1948, 35.

²⁵ The Jelić family kindly provided me with documents on nationalization (largely appeals and answering letters from various Yugoslav authorities) covering the period 1948 to 1962.

building's first floor and finally regained possession of those rooms in 1961 after a number of further appeals. However, the brothers' argument that the enterprise had been registered as a simple *gostiona* (inn) in 1938 and had been illegally nationalized was rejected on the basis of "evidence" from a 1949 inventory. The list included a red porter's cap bearing the name "Hotel Velebit." Sporadic confiscation of family property from kitchenware to mattresses continued throughout the 1950s. A new nationalization law claimed ground floor storage space in 1959.²⁶

The turmoil of the Second World War and post-war political measures to "restructure" society had grave consequences for the reconstruction of the Yugoslav tourism industry in general. There were shortages of almost all goods needed to serve tourism, including basic foodstuffs and beverages.²⁷ According to numerous reports, experienced hoteliers and tourism workers were lacking in all parts of the country. In Biograd, the Jelić brother who had run the former Hotel Velebit was demoted to simple waiter in the now state-owned restaurant installed in the ground floor of his former property. Hotels and restaurants offered only rudimentary meals and accommodation. Two officials dispatched from Zagreb to investigate the condition of hotels along the Croatian Adriatic in 1951 painted a dismal picture in a report submitted to the Croatian government's head office of tourism and catering.²⁸ Between Opatija and Dubrovnik, they noted the run-down state of formerly exclusive premises. Rooms lacked light bulbs and hot water, and many restaurants were run "like canteens." Waiters lacked the skills to tell plates from saucers. Hotel Rab in the medieval town of Rab, for example, was seen to be relatively clean but the furnishings improvised and poor:

Shoe racks serve as bedside tables. The wardrobes have no keys; there are no lamps on the bedside tables. The room maids are peasants who are otherwise obliging, but they speak no foreign language

²⁶ *Zakon o nacionalizaciji najamih zgrada i građevinskog zemljišta*, SL FNRJ 1958, 52.

²⁷ Various documents in HDA, fond *Glavna uprava za turizam i ugostiteljstvo vlade NRH*, 8, 1948–51.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, *Izvyestaj, Službeni put po Primorju u svrhu pregleda i ispravaka nedostataka u objektima namijenjenim inostranom turizmu*, 1951.

and it is their custom to be loud and sing while they work. This is also true of the kitchen staff who clamor so loudly in crude language that the guests on the terrace must hear it.²⁹

The tone of the comments suggests that the officials had rather “bourgeois” expectations of what a hotel should offer. Since their task was to make recommendations on how to win *foreign* guests back to Yugoslavia, however, such scrutiny was deemed necessary.

Domestic guests, on the other hand, were not expected to receive special treatment in the post-war decade. A mid-1950s report on domestic tourism in Split, for example, stated that Yugoslav tourists preferred cheaper accommodation and food, although it also underlined their lack of spending power.³⁰ Furthermore, nationalization provided the social tourism system with lodgings without necessitating immediate investment. As a result, state-subsidized holidays were often makeshift and lacking in comfort. In Biograd, workers sent to the seaside made do with dormitory-like rooms and bunk beds. A man whose father, a wealthy butcher, had seen his house turned into an *odmaralište* in 1956, remembered how the former “Villa Nikolina” was crammed with 46 beds. “It was like a barracks, with iron beds,” he said. The neo-tourists had been reluctant to go on vacation to the seaside, anyway. Most were workers who still lived in villages and had crops and livestock to tend at home, the man said. In 1959, his parents finally sold the house cheaply to a mining enterprise from Bosnia-Herzegovina.³¹

Biograd’s former Hotel Velebit also sheltered vacationing workers. Soon after the property was nationalized, the Belgrade educators’ union, Prosveta, began to send employees on a regular basis. Following an arrangement with Biograd’s main tourism enterprise in 1958, the Velebit’s former owners received the right to lease the upper floor

²⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

³⁰ “Domaći turizam,” undated, in HDA, fond *Ugostiteljska komora NRH*, 12, *Materijali o turizmu i zanatjnu kot. Split i dr.*, 1954–56.

³¹ The owners were concerned that otherwise they might never see compensation. The enterprise Rudnik Ljubija bought the house. Later it belonged to a Slovenian and then a Serb enterprise. It operated as an *odmaralište* until 1990.



Figure 3. A “Fićo” parked in front of the former Hotel Velebit (background center)³²

of the building as social tourism accommodation.³³ Prosveta rented rooms for many years, followed in 1966 by the Slovenian electrical company Merz. The Jelić family now had a regular summer income from social tourism: in effect they ran an *odmaralište* in their earlier premises.

Paradoxically, just as former entrepreneurs were being integrated into the social tourism system, socialist enterprises were readjusted towards a more capitalist style of providing tourism accommodation. Documents from the Croatian state archive show that properties established as *odmarališta* during the post-war years were recommended for absorption into the commercial tourism network in order to boost

³² Source: my photo, 2006.

³³ Contract dated 1 January 1958, provided by the Jelić family. The arrangement was set up by the incumbent director who had been sympathetic to the family.

capacity and improve restaurant services.³⁴ In Biograd, the Jadran's earnings from trade union bookings were too low to warrant its upkeep as workers' holiday accommodation when other tourists would pay full price.³⁵ In 1957, the hotel was transformed into an "RO" company (*radna organizacija*) that would later include two new hotels built in the immediate vicinity. The classy name "Ilirija" was revived for the town's leading tourism enterprise. When the incumbent director unexpectedly died leaving a dearth of skilled administrators, the former director of Hotel Velebit was raised from his status as waiter and appointed to head the Ilirija enterprise, which he did for some two and a half years.³⁶

The remodeling of tourism in Biograd along more commercial lines in the late 1950s formed the economic base on which households strengthened their involvement in tourism. Foreign tourists began to arrive in the town in larger numbers. Trade unions and enterprises sought alternative holiday accommodation. Locals and islanders who moved to the town would profit from the following decade's tourism boom from three groups of tourists; individual foreign travelers, domestic holidaymakers looking for cheap accommodation, and social tourism customers on organized holidays.

"Drive-By" Tourists: 1960s and 1970s

The first entries in Jakov's guestbook in August 1963 show a Croatian husband and wife originating from a small continental town and describing themselves as clerks (*službenik*).³⁷ An Austrian couple follows, a journalist and housewife from Vienna. These were motorized tourists who arrived via the new Adriatic Highway (*Jadranska magistrala*) which reached Biograd from the north in 1962. The new highway

³⁴ Undated documents in HDA, fond *Glavna uprava za turizam i ugostiteljstvo vlade NRH*, 8, 1948–51. The document "Odmarališta koja bi se imala uključiti u turističke-ugostiteljsku mrežu" includes an *odmaralište* in Biograd.

³⁵ Interview with a former president of Biograd's tourism association, 2006.

³⁶ Mr. Jelić was fully rehabilitated. He died in 1969. According to his older son, he had been glad to head the enterprise but was frustrated by the lack of work discipline among the staff.

³⁷ Guestbook provided by the Staglišić family.

1963. - godina

Redni broj	Dan mjesec i godina dolaska	Dan mjesec i godina odlaska	Broj sobe	Porodično i rođeno ime	Rođenja		Zanimanje	Narodnost	Državljanstvo
					mjesto	dan, mjesec i godina			
1.	2-VIII 63	11-VIII 63		OREŠČANIN MILAN	PERKA VRGIN MOST	28-V 1907	Službenik	HRV.	SFRJ.
2.	11	11		OREŠČANIN (BRKONČ) JUBICA	— 11 —	15-VII 1922	— 11 —	— 11 —	— 11 —
3.	2-VIII 63	16-VIII 63		GROSS (FRANK) WALTER	WIEN	9-VIII 1918	Journalist	ÖSTERREICH	ÖSTERREICH
4.	11	11		GROSS (WILHELM) ERNA	Salzburg	8-X 1920	Anglistin	— 11 —	— 11 —
5.	5-VIII 63	23-VIII 63		Jegac (Gabičević) ADELA	Tršćkutina POREČ	15-L 1920	Služenik	HRV.	SFRJ.
6.									
7.									
8.									

Figure 4. Guestbook in private accommodation with first entries dated 1963³⁸

replaced cobbled mountain roads and connected Croatia's northern port of Rijeka with Montenegro's southernmost port of Ulcinj from 1965, vastly improving accessibility to the sea by car and bus. Tourists began to explore the Adriatic coast without making advance holiday bookings. Individual mobility meant that holidaymakers could view potential accommodation by driving by, and new houses like Jakov's drew their attention.

Despite communist rule, household accommodation (*kućna radionost*) had remained a factor in seaside tourism on the Yugoslav Adriatic after the Second World War. Citizens had either continued to rent out accommodation privately, or they began to do so as tourism gradually picked up in the new state. An article in the new Croatian tourism and catering journal, *Glasnik*, revealed in 1953 that according to the Chamber of Catering and Tourism, private households offered some 8,700 beds on the Croatian coast every year.³⁹ Locals would hail tourists

³⁸ Source: my photo, 2006.

³⁹ "Regres na privatne ležaje," *Glasnik* 2/5 (1953), p. 6.

at bus and train stations to offer vacancies. *Glasnik* criticized this “ugly phenomenon,” but in the mood of the Yugoslav decentralization policy, municipalities began to seek ways to make use of household potential and keep tourists in their economic sphere of influence.⁴⁰ The people’s committee of the city of Dubrovnik, for example, decided in 1953 that private persons may rent out rooms but must do so via a tourism enterprise and not in direct transaction with the tourist.⁴¹

In the following years, federal and republican bodies charged with tourism organization came to the same conclusion: household accommodation was vital to tourism and provided much needed capacity for domestic and foreign visitors.⁴² The benefits seemed to far outweigh any ideological reservations. Apart from providing accommodation at reasonable prices without cost to the state, private hosts received much-desired foreign currency directly from their foreign guests. But, there was also resistance to the 1954 federal decree that tentatively established the right of households to rent out to tourists and charged municipalities with monitoring hygienic conditions.⁴³ Some officials believed that this type of private economic activity contradicted basic principles of communism.⁴⁴ In order to ease this argument, plus combat the “negative phenomena” that haunted the small-scale tourism business—failure to register guests and pay taxes—a new regulation was introduced in 1958.⁴⁵ Accordingly, private accommodation was to be organized via tourism organizations and associations only. In practice, though, unregistered rental to tourists remained a feature of “bed and breakfast” accommodation and inconsistent tourism administration in the decades to come.

In Biograd, the early 1960s rush of holidaymakers took some locals rather by surprise. Despite the town’s status as an expanding tourism

⁴⁰ “Rješava se pitanje izdavanja privatnih soba turistima,” *Glasnik* 2/13 (1953), p. 5.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Various reports collected by the Federal Committee for Tourism. Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore (ASCG), Arhiv Jugoslavije, fond 580, box 29.

⁴³ *Uredba o ugostiteljskim poduzećima i radnjama*, SL FNRJ 1954, 6, čl. 58.

⁴⁴ “Domaćinstvo,” ASCG, fond AJ 580, box 29, 1–2.

⁴⁵ *Uredba o izmjenama i dopunama uredbe ugostiteljskim poduzećima i radnjama*, SL FNRJ 1958, 51, čl. 1.

resort, the majority of local people worked in agriculture and fishing. In 1948, this had been some 85 percent of the population.⁴⁶ Households offered a small number of beds to tourists: 150 beds in 1952, but the figure doubled the next year and continued to grow.⁴⁷ Ana from the village of Tkon on the island of Pašman said that when she had married in 1954 and came to live in town, there had not been much tourism: "We worked in agriculture... we went to sell potatoes in Split, Hvar, Brač, and so on." Little by little the couple built a house on the periphery of the town, together with relatives. Ana recalled that when increasing numbers of tourists had appeared looking for accommodation, local families had made their own living space available to guests by sleeping in the kitchen. Her brother-in-law was impressed by the extra income to be made and suggested that the family rent out to tourists. Despite a lack of furniture and even sufficient rooms, they had no problem finding customers. The family put up their first guests in the stable. Until they purchased beds for their visitors in the mid-1960s, tourists slept on airbeds they had brought along themselves. "The tourists came and slept anyhow, just to be able to go to the sea," Ana said. Holidaymakers from Serbia simply set up tents in the neighbor's garden. At that time, homes in the neighborhood did not have modern toilet facilities or a bathroom. Guests showered in the yard with the help of a rubber hosepipe joined to the water supply. Indeed, the yard often became the heart of communication between hosts and their guests who enjoyed the local hospitality until late at night. Ana recalled, "In the yard we kept the hay, the tourists came and drank wine, we had plenty of wine, they drank and sang, it was quite something!"

With the new connection via the Adriatic Highway, Biograd was transformed from a sea-oriented to a road-oriented town. In the 1950s, tourists still arrived twice daily by steamboat, offering a fascinating parade to local youths as they filed down onto the pier. People with rooms to rent offered them directly to tourists here and at the bus station, according to a report from 1958.⁴⁸ But the highway gradually

⁴⁶ *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* (1955, vol. I, p. 569).

⁴⁷ "Razvitak i organizacija izdavanja kreveta u kućnoj radinosti u Biograd n/m," *Općinski turistički savez Biograd n/m*, 1964, ASCG, fond AJ 580, box 29, p. 1.

⁴⁸ "Turističko društvo Soline u Biogradu n/m," *Turizam* 6/1–2 (1958), p. 34.

dispersed the seafront crowds as the road ushered thousands of new tourists into Biograd from the hinterland. In 1963, the number of overnight stays by foreign visitors in the municipality leapt by 52 percent over the previous year—higher than the 46 percent average growth registered for the Adriatic resorts.⁴⁹ International bus services also used the new road. The Austrian state postal company offered a direct service to Biograd from the southern city of Graz for example: an overnight journey of some 12 hours in 1962.⁵⁰ Although the highway facilitated travel up and down the coast, Yugoslav holidaymakers from continental regions often had to negotiate narrow gravel roads for stretches of their journey as they traversed mountainous terrain and the Dinarian ridge before reaching the sea. A man from Krapina in northern Croatia remembered hearing wolves howl high up on Velebit Mountain as the family of four crossed the steep coastal ridge in their new Fíco car in the mid-1960s.

Once they arrived in Biograd, “independent” tourists had various opportunities for spending their holiday. Accommodation included a camping site set up in the 1950s in the wooded park behind Soline beach. Despite chronic problems with water supply, the camp attracted growing numbers of motorized tourists and offered 22 percent of total accommodation capacity in 1963.⁵¹ According to the same report, *odmarališta* constituted 27 percent, while hotel capacity, including the crumbling Hotel Ilirija, offered only 3 percent. Households offered the largest capacity at 36 percent. The remaining 12 percent, however, was allocated to the new category of “tourist village” (*turistička naselja*).

The federal policy of reinforcing commercial tourism had enabled the French organization, Club Méditerranée, to conclude a contract with a Zadar-based enterprise for a tourist settlement near the hamlet of Pakoštane, south of Biograd. The business was run by Turist-hotel under the name “Tourist Village Pakoštane,” thus obviating Yugoslav

⁴⁹ “Problemi turizma u Hrvatskoj. Na temelju analize karakteristika i rezultata sezone,” Zagreb 1963, ASCG, fond AJ 580, box 29, 9–10.

⁵⁰ Bus schedule “Jugoslawien (Adria)-Verkehr,” *Post- und Telegraphen-direktion für die Steiermark in Graz*, 1962.

⁵¹ “Turističko društvo Soline u Biogradu n/m,” *Turizam* 6/1–2 (1958), p. 34; “Turistička orijentacija Biogradske komune,” *Turizam* 12/1 (1964), p. 19.

legislation that banned foreign firms from independently operating in the country.⁵² The “village” of Polynesian-style straw huts opened in 1960. Soon afterwards, work began on an “open” tourist settlement on the same stretch of coast. Situated on a sheltered bay, the *Crvena luka* development was specifically aimed at foreign and domestic tourists travelling independently by car.⁵³ It encompassed a camping site, a motel and restaurant, and offered moorings for small yachts and boats, as well as excursions to the Kornati islands. Motorized travelers also needed to purchase foodstuffs and everyday consumer items as they toured the coast. In Biograd town, the first supermarket opened in 1964, and an additional one catered to campers at Soline beach from 1970.⁵⁴

The diversification of tourism accommodation and facilities in the Biograd municipality was accompanied by stronger efforts to organize private accommodation, and to implement the new regulations. Biograd’s main tourism association, “Soline,” had been reorganized by the socialist authorities after the Second World War. It began involvement in mediating private rooms and monitoring payment in 1956.⁵⁵ Thirteen further tourism associations were created in the coastal and island hamlets belonging to the municipality between 1955 and 1966, and they subsequently joined the regional umbrella tourism union (*Turistički savez*) established in 1957.⁵⁶ Around this time, federal authorities in Belgrade considered recommendations to create an organization that would inform tourists on capacity available in both *odmarališta* and private rooms, citing the need to facilitate holidays for “workers

⁵² Kazija (2006); “Turistička orijentacija Biogradske komune,” *Turizam* 12/1 (1964), p. 19. The Club Méditerranée catered largely for French tourists.

⁵³ “Unapređenje turizma u Zadarskom području,” *Turizam* 10/12 (1962), pp. 12–7.

⁵⁴ Interviews with two former employees of the Split-based Dalma trading company, which later ran around a dozen shops in Biograd.

⁵⁵ “Razvitak i organizacija izdavanja kreveta u kućnoj radinosti u Biograd n/m,” 1964, *Općinski turistički savez Biograd n/m*, 1964, ASCG, fond AJ 580, box 29, p. 2.

⁵⁶ “Organizaciono stanje i rad turističkih društava i saveza,” *Turistički savez općine Biograd n/m*, 1962, p. 5. Section of a report provided by Biograd’s tourism board, Turistička zajednica grada Biograd na Moru.

and employees” through efficient communication.⁵⁷ From here, the Yugoslav tourist bureau (*Turistički biro*) emerged, charged with mediating and selling accommodation.⁵⁸ In Biograd, the tourist bureau started up in 1962. Soon transformed into a commercially operating agency, it set up contracts with local households, sold rooms to tourists via its office and collected taxes. The tourism union, on the other hand, largely dealt with inter-regional organization, tourism promotion, and marketing. In addition, the tourist bureau was responsible for viewing and categorizing accommodation, and also mediated small loans to house-owners. Loans from communal banks for increasing and improving tourism capacity became available in Yugoslavia in 1963,⁵⁹ but the Biograd bureau granted useful short-term cash loans, usually for preparation before the season like painting rooms or purchasing furnishings.

Yugoslav tourism reports from the 1960s acknowledged that the adaptation of homes catering to tourists not only benefited guests but also led to better living conditions for the owners.⁶⁰ A 1964 report from Biograd emphasized that houses in the area had seldom had running water not to speak of bathrooms or water-closet toilets.⁶¹ In contrast: “Today the situation is reversed, it is rare for a house not to have running water and sanitary facilities, not to have thrown out old furniture and removed stables and pigs from the surroundings of the building.” However, hosts from a peasant background who started out in tourism around this time remembered still keeping pigs, a horse, or donkey in the stable—a fact that did not keep tourists from bedding down nearby. Over the next decade, farm animals largely disappeared

⁵⁷ Tourism report (first pages missing, compiled in 1959 or 1960), section “Organizacija smeštaja domaćih turista,” ASCG, fond AJ 580, box 29, 23–4.

⁵⁸ On the tasks of the tourism bureaus, see Antunac (1970, p. 57).

⁵⁹ This was enabled by new policy on loans for improving domestic consumption, SL SFRJ, 1963, 12.

⁶⁰ See, for example: “Problematika privatne aktivnosti u turizmu,” *Turistički savez kotara Split*, 1964. ASCG, fond 580, box 29, 6.

⁶¹ “Razvitak i organizacija izdavanja kreveta u kućnoj radinosti u Biograd n/m,” 1964, *Općinski turistički savez Biograd n/m*, 1964, ASCG, fond AJ 580, box 29, p. 1.

and newly extended houses offered regular beds and modern bathrooms. Ana's family, for example, completed a new house on the same plot in 1978, in which the "tourist" floor had its own bathroom and toilet shared by four guestrooms. In the mid-1980s, these were adapted so that each guestroom had its own bathroom.

Tourists also arrived on Pašman Island. Here infrastructure lagged somewhat behind, but guests were undeterred by the basic conditions. A family who took in Italian and Slovenian guests in the late 1960s lacked electricity—instead of a fridge, they used a well to cool their homemade wine, proving a hit with their visitors who relished the chilled wine drawn up from the earth. A framed black-and-white photograph of the scene hangs in the family's living room today.⁶² From the point of view of the hosts who had grown up working the land, opening the house to holidaymakers was a relatively easy task compared with agricultural labor. "Ha, tourism, you work in the shade, you're not hot, there's nice cool water to drink, and so on... You wait on the guests with a smile," said Ana, who had hacked maize in the heat and hauled fish as a girl. In 1971, the Dalmatian newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* discussed the topic of tourism versus agriculture. A report from the Makarska coast established that earnings from renting out a single room to tourists equaled the income gained from 200 olive trees.⁶³

Social Tourism to *Zimmer frei*: 1960s to 1970s

Many local people grew into tourism rather than made plans to go into business. One man whose work on the Adriatic Highway brought him to Biograd from continental Croatia, however, correctly read the signs of the times. In the late 1950s, Ivo had observed how the northern coastal resorts had begun to flourish as the highway slowly unfurled down the Adriatic coast. "Everything was going southwards... I reckoned that working with tourism would be a good basis for living," he said. Together with his young local wife he purchased a plot of land from relatives, took a loan for building a family house and began con-

⁶² My interview, 2006.

⁶³ "Jedna soba koliko 200 maslina," *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 3 March 1971, p. 8.

struction in 1960. Since he was deputy manager in the road construction company, he was able to buy building materials at purchase price and got workers to transport them for free. The two-storey house was completed in 1961 and had a spacious ground floor and yard. Ivo offered this space to social tourism organizations for use as a canteen. The couple's first contract was with the bakery enterprise *Žitoprodukt* from Zagreb. For three months a year, the leased kitchen and dining space catered to workers and employees on collective vacation.

In 1960, 21 *odmarališta* were listed in the Biograd municipality, including enterprises from Croatia, Serbia, and Slovenia.⁶⁴ Two youth holiday union (*Ferijalni savez*) camps from Belgrade and Subotica were also registered, as well as two children's organizations. However, as elsewhere in the seaside resorts, the *odmarališta* were riddled with all sorts of problems. A 1958 report ranked sanitary conditions in Biograd's "permanent" *odmarališta* as satisfactory, but established "gross deficiencies" in school buildings used only for short stays.⁶⁵ Furthermore, several *odmarališta* had been set up in former nationalized properties unsuited for the purpose. Nationwide surveys showed that buildings with small capacity were used much less efficiently than larger ones. The villa in Biograd described above and used as a vacation base by the mining company Rudnik Ljubija appears in a survey dated 1962. Registered with a capacity of 36 beds, it had an all-year utilization level of only 17 percent, the lowest of those surveyed.⁶⁶ One of the chronic problems in this regard was that workers and employees wanted to go on holiday during the high season, even if *odmarališta* or hotels were empty for the rest of the year. The journal *Glasnik* already drew attention to this problem in 1953: although potential social tourism customers were offered off-season discounts, many simply set off on vacation during the summer months and ended up staying in private homes on the basis of handshake agreements.⁶⁷ The journal announced that the federal government had recently approved a proposal put forward by the Croatian Chamber of Catering and Tourism. Tourism

⁶⁴ "Popis radničkih odmarališta," HDA, fond SSJ-VSSH 1286, box 484, 1960, p. 24.

⁶⁵ "Turističko društvo Soline u Biogradu n/m," *Turizam* 6/1–2 (1958), p. 34.

⁶⁶ "Beleška o poslovanju odmarališta," ASCG, fond AJ 580, box 29, p. 4.

⁶⁷ "Regres na privatne ležaje," *Glasnik* 2/5 (1953), p. 6.

enterprises would be able to lease accommodation from private households during the summer season and receive the standard state rebates. "Rooms leased from private households are considered an integral part of the capacity of the catering enterprises in these cases," *Glasnik* wrote.⁶⁸ In 1955, the newly founded Tourism Association of Yugoslavia (1953) declared its goal to increase accommodation offered by private households and proposed tax benefits with the aim of "extending capacity, which would enable cheaper holidays for our people."⁶⁹

In Biograd, social tourism organizations began to lease rooms from households in the late 1950s. A 1964 report on the evolution of private tourism accommodation in the municipality underlined the importance of *odmarališta* for the development of this sector.⁷⁰ Faced with the shortcomings of existing lodgings, trade unions and enterprises sent representatives to local homes to scout possibilities to rent. Some enterprises offered small cash advances for the purchase of basic furnishings like beds and wardrobes. A short time later, the new Tourism Bureau sent its own agents to negotiate and set up contracts. The bureau took a small commission fee for each contract. According to hosts, the social tourism leases brought modest earnings but usually ensured bookings for a full season. Jakov leased rooms to a series of enterprises via the bureau. With the help of loans—the first were from Jadranska Banka in 1966 and 1969 for furnishings and sanitary facilities—he was able to add a second storey to his house and registered five rooms with 13 beds in the 1970s and 1980s.⁷¹ In addition, he leased ground floor and courtyard space for a canteen catering to several *odmarališta* operating in the vicinity. His son remembered that between 70 and 100 people had taken their meals in the courtyard every day, but occasionally there had been problems with payment. "They [enterprises] usual-

⁶⁸ An amendment in the same year allowed rebate arrangements with guest-houses (*pensionske ugostiteljske radnje*): SL FNRJ 1953, 10.

⁶⁹ "O kućnoj radinosti u turizmu," *Turistički pregled* 3/10–2 (1955), p. 15.

⁷⁰ "Razvitak i organizacija izdavanja kreveta u kućnoj radinosti u Biograd n/m," 1964, *Općinski turistički savez Biograd n/m*, 1964, ASCG, fond AJ 580, box 29, p. 1.

⁷¹ Jakov took a five-year loan of 7,500 dinars from Jadranska Banka in 1966, and a further loan of 6,000 dinars in 1969 (contracts provided by the family).

ly paid in three monthly installments: at the beginning of the summer, in the middle, and at the end. They would have enough for the first installment, for the second only with difficulty, and when the time came for the third, nothing," he said. Nevertheless, the family provided enterprises with accommodation and canteen space until the end of the 1980s.⁷²

Ivo, whose house was on the other side of town, explained that his ground floor was used as a central canteen by *odmarališta* occupying between 10 and 15 private homes. Some 60 to 70 people plus family members would spend holidays in the neighborhood at one time. That made around 200 meals to be served once a day, while other households provided for the other two meals. Guests came to eat in three or four shifts: when one group finished, the next arrived. However, Ivo's family neither supplied nor cooked the food. Like other locals, they rented out empty rooms and a swept yard. The enterprises installed their own kitchen and restaurant equipment and brought along their own staff, from cooks to waiters. "They brought the stoves... chairs, tables, pans, everything!" Ivo's wife said. After the season, the entire inventory was transported back to the enterprises' own premises. In Croatia, a 1965 law regulated the leasing of catering space.⁷³ Later, contracts with the Tourism Bureau ensured that the social tourism organizations paid for water and electricity, and were responsible for removing waste.⁷⁴ However, some locals complained that because staff and cooking equipment, as well as sometimes foodstuffs, had been imported to the town, social tourism had left too little money in local pockets.⁷⁵

On the other hand, social tourism formed a base on which the community extended its tourism market. Already in the 1960s, unions and

⁷² Guestbook provided by the Staglišić family: "Evidencija gostiju 1979–1983."

⁷³ *Zakon o ugostiteljskoj djelatnosti građana*, *Narodne novine (NN)*, 1965, p. 13.

⁷⁴ Copy of a lease provided by the Staglišić family, valid from 15 June to 15 September 1986.

⁷⁵ Interviews conducted in 2006. A newspaper article in 1965 already criticized the "closed world" of *odmarališta* in Biograd. See "Mnogo su mjesta pretekla Biograd," *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 31 August 1965, p. 3.

enterprises began to build new holiday developments modeled on contemporary tourist villages and hotels. A Belgrade council union constructed an *odmaralište* in 1963, boasting 105 stone-clad “cottages,” a self-service restaurant, a bakery, a dance floor plus jukebox.⁷⁶ On a visit to Biograd in 1965, Tito himself admired the modern “*odmarališta* avenue” extending through the pine trees to Soline beach.⁷⁷ As larger *odmaralište* started to install their own canteens, families who worked with social tourism began to invest in attracting alternative customers.

Ivo and his wife leased out canteen space until the end of the 1970s and extended their house from their earnings. They started to shift to foreign guests around 1972 despite initial reservations in the community. “At the beginning, it was somehow shameful to have a *Zimmer frei* sign,” Ivo said. The family’s last guests via the social tourism system came from a Bosnian textile company in Bihać. Ivo’s wife recalled, “They said they had nothing. So we bought 50 plates—it was for 40 people—all the chairs, tables, everything. What we earned that summer we spent on the inventory.” However, in the next season the couple used the new dishes and furniture to offer breakfast and a meal to individual tourists and so completed the transformation of their premises into private half-board accommodation.

The restyling of the household business was enabled by legislation that reiterated and extended the rights of citizens to let capacity to tourists. The Yugoslav constitutional amendments of 1971 transferred the regulation of the tourism and catering sector from the federal level to the republics. The 1974 Croatian law on “catering and tourism activity” allowed citizens not only to rent out rooms in their primary home but also holiday cottages belonging to the family.⁷⁸ Households could also provide meals and “guesthouse services.” Yet the scope for private business remained limited. The 1974 law permitted a capacity of up to 14 beds, and this was extended to 20 in 1978.⁷⁹ Individuals who wanted to develop tourism services into a fully fledged business, however, faced restrictions blocking property investment and commer-

⁷⁶ “Moderno sindikalno odmaralište u Biograd na Moru,” *Vjesnik*, 29 June 1963, p. 6.

⁷⁷ “Susret za Biograđanima,” *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11 August 1965, p. 1.

⁷⁸ *Zakon o ugostiteljskoj i turističkoj djelatnosti*, NN, 1974, 19.

⁷⁹ *Zakon o ugostiteljskoj i turističkoj djelatnosti*, NN, 1978, 14, čl. 122.

cial activities despite adjustments to the law. In the other republics, legislation varied but also prevented a free market.⁸⁰

At the same time, tourism hosts discerned tactical opportunities to evade regulations and facilitate improvements to their tourism offer. In Biograd, Ivo continued employment—by now he worked as a sales manager in the food industry—while his wife left her secretarial job to run their guesthouse. Over the years, the couple befriended four German families who came to stay in their house every summer. In 1976, the German guests put funds together to privately loan Ivo 20,000 German marks for the addition of a further storey to his house. Ivo and his German partner arranged to meet in the Slovenian Alpine resort of Bled for the cash handover. In exchange, his guests consumed the equivalent of their loan over five years by making use of Ivo's converted holiday accommodation at a discount price. Other hosts profited from friendly relations with their foreign guests by obtaining consumer goods unavailable in the local economy. Tourists brought colorful towels and filter coffee machines from Germany or Austria. Even fridges arrived by car, transforming rooms with served breakfast into independently functioning units.⁸¹

Despite the efforts of the Yugoslav tourism bureaus to manage household accommodation exclusively, both hosts and guests shared an interest in making their own arrangements. Small-scale tax evasion and the failure to register guests remained widespread in the seaside resorts and was the frequent subject of media reports in *Slobodna Dalmacija* which promoted "rigorous controls."⁸² In Biograd, Ana, who leased rooms to social tourism organizations but also took in other tourists, described how she dealt with two inspectors investigating her obviously full house in the 1970s: "They were already taking notes... then I took down a *pršut* [smoked ham] for them and brought them wine, and I called to the militia man up there, come on down and be my guest for a little *pršut* and wine." Happily gorged on her hospitality, the inspectors abandoned their mission. "That happened several times," she said.

⁸⁰ Slovenia allowed 20 beds, Macedonia 10, while in other republics limits were left up to the municipalities: Car and Grbić (1986, p. 130).

⁸¹ Interviews conducted in 2006.

⁸² "Rigoroznija kontrola u privatnom smještaju," *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 25 May 1971, p. 6.

“Poor” Guests and Prosperous Hosts: 1970s to 1980s

Biograd’s prime hotel, the Ilirija, was reopened in July 1970.⁸³ The “old” Ilirija was pulled down since the original cement had been mixed with seawater and had disintegrated over the years, making renovation impossible. The new, conventional five-floor category-B hotel offered 340 beds. Next door was a smaller new hotel, the Adriatic. With the opening of Hotel Kornati one year later, Biograd’s hotel complex received its third category-B hotel and an overall capacity of some 700 beds.⁸⁴ As an enterprise, Ilirija also ran the Majica hotel in the neighboring village of Filip Jakov,⁸⁵ although the 1963 takeover triggered tensions over compensation.⁸⁶ Along with the new investments, the character of tourism entertainment changed: the band that had played evening dance music on the terrace of the old Ilirija was replaced by a synthesizer combo. An open-air cinema showing the latest films—Westerns and romances were popular—opened in the vicinity of the camping site in the 1970s. Although the new hotels boosted commercial capacity in the municipality to 17 percent in 1971, household accommodation still accounted for a high 33 percent. The popular camping sites in Biograd and Filip Jakov now sheltered more tourists than the *odmarališta*, with 27 percent against 24 percent.⁸⁷

The efforts to modernize tourism by building new hotels, improving amenities at the camping sites, and restructuring parts of the seafront augmented existing seasonal problems with infrastructure. Biograd’s tourism union took stock of these problems in the early 1970s: the water supply was deficient, the electricity network chronically over-

⁸³ “Okupirana nova Ilirija,” *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 16 July 1970, p. 2. According to local lore, engineer Karaganjan received a holiday apartment in the new Ilirija Hotel.

⁸⁴ “Zaokružen hotelski kompleks,” *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 3 June 1971, p. 3.

⁸⁵ After the demise of socialist Yugoslavia, the village reverted to its original name, “Sv. Filip i Jakov.” In the socialist era, the name was written as “Filip Jakov” or “Filipjakov.”

⁸⁶ The cooperative that had run the former “Hotel Zadar” complained that it was not compensated for the takeover in 1963. The dispute remained unresolved into the late 1980s. Typescript “Filipjakov nekad i sad” provided by the Sv. Filip i Jakov tourism association.

⁸⁷ “Realni uvjeti bržeg razvoja,” *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 4 June 1971, p. 2.

loaded, telephone connections were bad, and the quality of most accommodation of whichever category was low.⁸⁸ A self-managing interest union (SIZ) for the development of tourism was formed in 1978 on the pattern of similar bodies all over Yugoslavia.⁸⁹ The SIZ brought together enterprises, municipal organizations, tourism and other unions interested in tackling the problems of infrastructure and improving the quality of tourism in the area. Consequently, the main task of the SIZ for tourism was to summon and channel resources towards implementing specific projects. Other self-managing interest unions, such as the SIZ for culture, also worked to enhance tourism-related activities and beautify the locality. Their resources remained modest, however, and tended to allow only for smaller projects. An ambitious plan for a hotel and nautical sports development on the southern coast of Pašman Island devised within the framework of the UNDP-funded programs "Southern and Upper Adriatic" dissolved into nothing for lack of funding, along with most of the other prestigious tourism projects designed for the Yugoslav government between 1967 and 1972.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the Ilirija enterprise extended its small marina and boat rental facility in front of Hotel Ilirija in 1980, and work began on a larger marina with 1,600 planned moorings on the northern side of the town.⁹¹ The establishment of Kornati National Park in 1980 represented a further important milestone in regional tourism development, which focused on boosting Biograd as a nautical sports centre. It also reflected changes in the Yugoslav political agenda. In the early 1960s, when the new Tourism Bureau chartered the first boat to take sight-seers to the islands, the area had been a closed military zone. Tourist groups had required a police permit for the excursion, according to a former head of the Bureau. But in the next decade, environmental protection and nature as cultural heritage became widely discussed concerns in Yugoslavia, intrinsically linked with both nation-building and

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Statut Samoupravne interesne zajednice za razvoj turizma općine Biograd na Moru, 11 August 1978. Unpublished document, archive of the tourism association of Biograd, *Turistička zajednica Biograda*.

⁹⁰ Urbanistički zavod Dalmacija (Split) and Shankland Cox and Associates (London) worked on the "Južni Pasman" plan. See Mattioni (2003).

⁹¹ "Proširenje luke," *Vikend* 644 (1980), p. 5.

the tourism industry. Around Kornati, the former military border was transformed into that of a nature reserve, proclaiming an altered function and meaning.⁹²

Besides the new marina, the most significant seafront project of the late 1980s was the construction of a water polo stadium (with a seawater pool), co-funded by the Ilirija enterprise. Biograd's hotel complex did not have its own swimming pool—the hotels remained class-B category until privatization in the 1990s. As a result, the town failed to attract better-spending tourists looking for a higher class of holiday. A former manager in the Ilirija enterprise cited legal impediments to reinvestment accompanied by growing costs as the main obstacles to improving the standard of hotel accommodation.



Figure 5. *The “new” Hotel Ilirija, opened in 1970*⁹³

⁹² See Obradović et al. (1988, pp. 45–9).

⁹³ Source: my photo, 2006.

For domestic holidaymakers, commercial accommodation on the Adriatic became increasingly expensive as the economy took a downturn around 1980. Holiday advice published in the leisure magazine *Vikend* reflected the price range between different types of accommodation in Biograd. In 1979, full-board hotel accommodation cost between 330 and 383 dinars per night for a double room.⁹⁴ Apartments were available between 250 and 750 dinars, depending on the number of beds. Prices in private accommodation varied according to category: a double room could be had from 50 to 70 dinars per person (i.e., 100 to 140 dinars per room), but an en-suite bathroom cost some 90 dinars extra. Camping was the cheapest way of spending a holiday in Biograd: tourists paid 25 dinars per person per day and half-rate for children, plus 12 dinars for a car, 20 for a caravan, and 15 for a tent. Prices were up the next year: hotel accommodation per person cost between 480 and 606 dinars, while class “IA” private accommodation cost 240 dinars and class III accommodation was available for 130 dinars.⁹⁵ Rising prices increasingly separated the holiday experiences of domestic and foreign vacationers, as Yugoslavs struggled to afford a holiday at all. By 1985, hosts renting out private rooms on the Adriatic openly gave preference to guests with hard currency: prices were advertised in dollars (in Split and surroundings) or German marks (Makarska region).⁹⁶ A cartoon in *Vikend* illustrated the dilemma: a Lilliputian family looks up at a looming hotel reception desk from where the giant receptionist grins down maliciously: “You must be domestic guests, right?!!”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ “Od Rovinja do Tivta,” *Vikend* 558 (1979), p. 25. The average monthly net salary in Croatia in 1979 was 6,571 dinars. *Statistički godišnjak SR Hrvatske* (1980, p. 221).

The Yugoslav average was slightly lower (6,113). *Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije* (1980, p. 433).

⁹⁵ “Biogradsko turističko područje,” *Vikend* 630 (1980), p. 27. Prices were a little lower on the islands. On rising prices on the Adriatic in the early 1980s, see “Poslednja šansa domaćem gostu,” *Danas*, 17 July 1984, pp. 19–21.

⁹⁶ “Poklanjemo li stranim gostima—previše,” *Danas*, 19 February 1985, pp. 4–6. Inland destinations also tended towards either currency: dollars were favored in parts of Bosnia and throughout Serbia.

⁹⁷ *Vikend* 951 (1986), p. 7.

In Biograd, tourism managers and municipal officials mulled the issue of how to adapt to changing times, noting that formidable investments were necessary if wealthier guests were to be attracted to the resort. A SIZ report mournfully established that Biograd had an “unfavorable tourism structure where domestic tourism dominates with a share of 60 to 65 percent.”⁹⁸ Social tourism still influenced the resort’s seasonal character: 54 permanent *odmarališta* were listed in the municipality.⁹⁹ Moreover, a large hotel-style *odmaralište* owned by a Serbian enterprise was constructed on a prime seafront site, giving rise to local discontent. Officials increasingly voiced doubts about the future of social tourism and supported investment in higher quality small hotel and guesthouse accommodation, as recommended by the SIZ and other regional reports.¹⁰⁰ The SIZ survey suggested that opportunities for private investment should be opened up, referring to the financial potential of locals working abroad.¹⁰¹ “The truth is that in Biograd we don’t see possibilities to develop our municipality through trade union tourism,” the president of the municipal council frankly told the news magazine *Danas* in 1985.¹⁰² According to a former hotel manager, some *odmarališta* simply rented accommodation to foreign tourists in the spirit of 1980s “liberalization.”

In the meantime, many households involved in tourism had redesigned their capacity. “At the beginning of the 1970s we began to get letters from people looking for apartments, people suggested they would like two rooms and a kitchen,” said a former head of the Tourism Bureau. Business-minded hosts like Ivo began to convert their premises into holiday apartments in that decade, while others took longer, completing conversion in the late 1980s. The Croatian law on tourism and catering included the category “family apartment” into its text, while

⁹⁸ “Dugoročni razvoj turizma općine Biograd na Moru,” SIZ za razvoj turizma općine Biograd na Moru, June 1985, p. 2. Further statistics for Biograd indicated 469,000 overnight stays by Yugoslavs in 1980 versus 219,000 foreign overnight stays. See Stanković (1990, p. 343).

⁹⁹ “Pregled stalnih odmarališta na području općine Biograd na Moru,” 1985.

¹⁰⁰ See also Jadrešić (1987, p. 380).

¹⁰¹ “Dugoročni razvoj turizma općine Biograd na Moru,” June 1985, 9.

¹⁰² Štula (1985, pp. 17–8).

the limit of 20 beds as well as the regulation that rental must be based on a contract with a tourism organization remained in place.¹⁰³ Individuals were not permitted to open a hotel. The same law in earlier versions also limited services provided by private caterers. On Pašman Island, a restaurant chief in the Ilirija enterprise opened a traditional restaurant (*konoba*) and small guesthouse in a family property in 1977. Since Toni was employed, the *konoba* was registered in his wife's name. The trained waiter had spent a few years working in Germany and was able to apply his refined skills both at his hotel workplace and in running his home enterprise, he proudly pointed out. Despite success and promotion in his hotel job, Toni felt frustrated about the legal restrictions on the size of his own restaurant, which was gaining popularity with guests looking for fresh seafood in an "authentic" setting. "You know what, you couldn't do business. My guests were kept waiting and were annoyed with me... I couldn't give them enough seats," he said.

The Yugoslav laws on small-scale business provoked debate in the 1980s, given the evident role of the private sector in handling diversifying consumer demand on the one hand, and simply easing shortcomings in the economy on the other. One of the advocates of liberalization, jurist Čedo Grbić, published two books specifically on the situation of small businesses, challenging the inability of socialist policies to come to terms with actual economic practices.¹⁰⁴ Grbić dealt with tourism as one of the central fields of private business requiring reassessment and emphasized households as a crucial resource for tourism development. Furthermore, he stressed the effect on household incomes: "Tourism households have achieved a relatively high standard, confirming the economic interest of such work."¹⁰⁵ However, he also pointed out the seasonal character of the business and that earnings were mostly supplementary. A precise evaluation of the situation was difficult, he added, due to the lack of data on earnings from household-based tourism activities.

¹⁰³ Zakon o ugostiteljskoj i turističkoj djelatnosti, *NN*, SRH 1988, 28, čl. 153ff.

¹⁰⁴ Grbić (1984; 1986).

¹⁰⁵ Grbić (1986, p. 60).



Figure 6. *A guesthouse and restaurant-owner poses in front of a photograph of his premises on Pašman Island before extension in the 1990s¹⁰⁶*

For hosts in Biograd, renting out accommodation was neither a full-time activity nor a sole source of income. All worked in other jobs, whether in the tourism sector or elsewhere. In fact, tourism officially employed only a medium share of the workforce. A 1980s plan for urban development gave figures for employment in “social production,” i.e., in self-management enterprises, as: 29.4 percent in agriculture and fishing, 28.2 percent in trade, 19.2 percent in tourism, and 11.1 percent in industry in 1981.¹⁰⁷ The municipality’s leading enter-

¹⁰⁶ Source: my photo, 2006.

¹⁰⁷ “Prostorni plan općine Biograd na moru do 2000.-te godine (revizija 1),” *Zavod za urbanizam Zadar*, 1985, p. 25. The remaining percentage was given as “other activities.”

prises remained based in the agricultural and fishing sectors: the agricultural complexes Vrana, Zadar and Nova Zora, as well as net-maker Danilo Štampalija. A sizeable part of the workforce, 29.9 percent in 1981, commuted to jobs in larger enterprises in and around Zadar or were employed in other regions of Croatia.¹⁰⁸ Members of the older generation like Jakov, on the other hand, in many cases continued to work their own plots and boats, selling produce to cooperatives, as well as providing foodstuffs for their families—and by extension to household tourist guests. Since women were generally in employment, too, opening the house to tourists in the summer season usually meant all members of the family pitching in, including teenage children. Occasionally, families took on helpers for washing and cleaning, so becoming provisional employers themselves. But there was no doubt that their efforts paid off. The majority of families renting out rooms or apartments in Biograd purchased their first car in the 1970s from their earnings. If not a car, then a boat—and eventually even both. Yet many people stressed the most important goal of their labor: to offer their children a better standard of living and a good education. “As children we got nothing except on our birthday,” said Ivo. “Our children have everything... They are well-educated, have studied, got good jobs.” Although pay cuts and shortages of consumer necessities from petrol to washing powder marked Yugoslavia’s economic collapse in the 1980s, people in Biograd felt the squeeze less than those living outside the tourism regions. Former hosts even recalled the late years of the decade as a “golden era” when overnight stays by foreigners increased, indicating an alluring swing towards more.¹⁰⁹ The sizeable tourism earnings created a feeling of well-being, worthwhile professionalism and personal success.

In the view of theorists dealing with the future of socialist society and policy, however, the endeavors of individuals in the Adriatic

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26. Of workers registered as resident in Biograd, only 0.7 percent were employed in other Yugoslav republics. A substantial number worked abroad (this was not given in terms of percentage of the workforce).

¹⁰⁹ The share of foreign tourists in Biograd rose in 1987, while the number of domestic tourists dropped in Yugoslavia as a whole with a further devaluation of the dinar at the end of that year. See Stanković (1990, pp. 276–7, 343).

resorts to sell their services in an increasingly market-style manner were questionable. Sociologists saw the seaside communities as unfairly advantaged in various ways. Firstly, they enjoyed the benefit of owning property in what was now an established tourism region and directly profited from utilizing it. Secondly, private businesses were prone to slip into the grey economy, reinforcing social inequality through illegally gained earnings.¹¹⁰ Simo Elaković's assessment took criticism a step further: he identified the formation of a "local elite" in the Adriatic resorts, driving a "masked private sector."¹¹¹ In the years of socialist consolidation, tourism had been shaped by political forces seeking to establish social tourism and the efforts of individuals to make a living in the largely underdeveloped Adriatic communities. Now, the motivations and actions of regional players were still closely interlinked but their aims had changed. Officials with an eye on their own prospects and citizens with small-scale business ventures were privatizing tourism on the eve of the disintegration of the state.

Conclusion

Through sanctioning household tourism accommodation, the Yugoslav socialist government integrated an important element of the pre-socialist tourism industry into its tourism policy. This early move decisively shaped the structure and character of Yugoslav tourism both in relation to social tourism and the development of a market-oriented sector. Firstly, the social tourism program was enabled to a significant extent by the economic participation of families in the Adriatic communities. Yugoslav trade unions and enterprises relied on space leased from local households in order to be able to offer organized seaside holidays to workers and employees at all. As a result, *odmarališta* extended into private homes during the holiday season, forming a functional synthesis of socialist economic organization and private economic activity. Secondly, the offer of private rooms opened up the country to individual holidaymakers—whether Yugoslavs or foreigners—increasingly travelling the coast by car. Having discovered agreeable lodgings in "drive by" style, motorized tourists often returned to stay with

¹¹⁰ See Berković (1986, pp. 60–5).

¹¹¹ Elaković (1989, p. 115).

the same families for years, in some cases even decades. Despite the significant share of foreigners with a preference for private accommodation, as well as the notable fact that hosts tended to recall foreigners as the predominant type of guest, statistics indicated that more domestic tourists stayed in private rooms than tourists from abroad.¹¹²

One of the main attractions of household accommodation was price. For Yugoslavs, hotels became relatively costly after the shift towards commercial-style management in the 1950s, and went up again when devaluation and inflation shrank spending power in the 1980s. In addition, private accommodation enabled a style of holiday that appealed to people who were not keen on collective vacations in *odmarališta* or who preferred flexibility in choosing dates or selecting where to go. Since the government promoted not only the annual holiday but also *choice* as an important component of recreation, it acknowledged household accommodation as a vital factor that helped to meet ideological demands on the one hand and to satisfy the expectations of both domestic and foreign holidaymakers on the other. But although households involved in tourism usefully broadened and complemented the Yugoslav market, the government kept a lid on emerging competition. Legislation on private tourism services differed in the various republics but principally limited them to properties owned and used by “the family.” Ultimately though, the inclusion of private accommodation into official tourism capacity influenced the government stance on small-scale business in general. Tourist hosts won recognition as rather efficient “self-managers” in the regional economy, leading to political reconsiderations of the nature and effectiveness of self-management as a whole.

Due to the considerable share of household accommodation in tourism capacity, the production and consumption of tourism acquired a decentralized character despite state efforts to administer the sector through organized bodies. Even social tourism holidays were often

¹¹² *Turizam u Jugoslaviji. Statistički podaci 1960–1977* (1978, pp. 38–42); Kobašić (1987, pp. 89–90). The majority of foreign tourists were registered in hotel and other commercial accommodation, followed by camping sites, while private accommodation came third. In the mid-1980s, Austrians topped the list of foreigners in household accommodation (ibid., p. 91).

consumed in the distinctly non-collective atmosphere of rooms and courtyards belonging to families in the resort communities. On the other hand, inclusion into the system of tourism administration helped to nurture incipient household businesses. Locals reinventing themselves as tourist hosts became acquainted with the economic practices required by the socialist state. Many families subsequently used the skills and resources they acquired in this way to launch themselves into providing private accommodation altogether. In doing so, hosts on the Adriatic made an essential contribution not only to broaden tourism capacity but also to create and mediate the Yugoslav holiday experience. Basic but homely accommodation, informal contact between hosts and guests, treats of freshly cooked food and homemade wine and brandy came to represent “southern” hospitality, especially for foreign visitors. For their part, guests from the large urban centers and from abroad directly influenced the quality of accommodation. Tourists imported, demonstrated, and donated various consumer items that stood for contemporary ideas of comfort. Hosts subsequently invested in adapting their homes to better cater to demand and consequently improved their own living standards. With extra earnings from tourism at their disposal, they became increasingly adept consumers themselves.

Paradoxically, the relative success of households offering tourism accommodation was also a product of the restrictions on private business that had sustained similar market conditions for all. Earnings were distinct yet modest, while at the same time few lost out. Today, people running small tourism businesses in Biograd said they missed the sense of social security that had prevailed in the socialist era. While they generally welcomed the abolition of laws impeding business, they struggle to cope with features of the new market economy like high agency fees, property speculation, and ruthless competition from big investors.

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Youth Labor Action (*Omladinska radna akcija, ORA*) as Ideological Holiday-Making

Dragan Popović

Introduction

Youth labor brigades became a key tool in the development of Yugoslav communist ideology. The first “youth labor action” (*Omladinska radna akcija, ORA*) was organized during the Second World War in 1942,¹ and the last in Banja Luka in 1990. Between 1942 and 1990, more than two million young Yugoslavs participated in these events. In general, *ORA* involved mass-scale voluntary labor on the part of young people with the goal of implementing projects for the common good. On an ideological level, the Yugoslav communist party used *ORA* as an instrument to construct a youth that would create, support, and live the principle of “brotherhood and unity” as part of a reconciliation program in Yugoslavia after the Second World War.

Several infrastructural milestones were accomplished with the assistance of *ORA*, such as the Brčko–Banovići and Šamac–Sarajevo railways,² the new urban district of New Belgrade,³ the “Brotherhood

¹ *ORA* Sanica.

² The Brčko–Banovići railway connects northern and central Bosnia, while the Šamac–Sarajevo railway connects western Bosnia with the Bosnian capital. The Brčko–Banovići railway project began in spring 1946 and was completed for the most part by autumn of the same year. 62,268 young Yugoslavs were involved in implementing this railway project, which was 90 km long. The Šamac–Sarajevo railway project was launched in the spring and completed in the autumn of 1947. This time 211,371 young Yugoslavs worked on the 242 km long project. Mihailović (1985, pp. 203, 204).

³ New Belgrade is an area of Belgrade located on the west bank of the Sava River. Intended as an example of socialist Yugoslavia’s vision and progress, its construction began in spring 1948.

and Unity” motorway, and the “Ivo Lola Ribar” enterprise.⁴ During the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, several *ORA* were organized to maintain these infrastructural projects.

While early *ORA* had called for hard physical work, later projects became increasingly recreational in nature, and participants saw them as an opportunity to travel and spend time with their peers away from home. The leisure aspect of *ORA* became a central component of youth experience and an object of consideration by the planners of these voluntary labor activities, who sought to attract young people while upholding core Yugoslav communist principles.

The ideological significance of voluntary work can be explained by an elaboration on the construction of the “Brotherhood and Unity” motorway and why it was crucial to include Yugoslav youth in this process. On the one hand, the project had an economic purpose. In fact, the motorway became one of the major traffic arteries for domestic and foreign tourists. However, it was not confined to economics, since the route was planned to pass through almost all Yugoslav republics and their capitals. The political symbolism of linking the different Yugoslav peoples was unmistakable. Furthermore, the hidden agenda of the party nomenclature was to reinforce relations between Croats and Serbs, represented by the Croatian capital of Zagreb, and Belgrade, the Serbian and federal capital, as a step towards healing wounds in the aftermath of the atrocities committed during the Second World War. In effect, the Zagreb–Belgrade axis embodied the common future of socialist Yugoslavia or its dissolution. From the beginning, *ORA* brigades were involved in its construction, the first day of which—1 April 1948—was proclaimed *ORA* Celebration Day. This emphasized the importance of the project and the prescience of the Yugoslav Communist Party to assign this missionary task to the brigades as an expression of its vision of youth.

⁴ The “Ivo Lola Ribar” enterprise in Belgrade was one of the largest industrial complexes in socialist Yugoslavia, and the most important. Many *ORA* brigadiers later found employment here. The project began in spring 1947. By the time it was completed at the beginning of 1948, 15,566 young Yugoslavs had worked on its construction. Mihailović (1985, pp. 205).

By organizing *ORA*, the Party endeavored to achieve multiple goals. Bringing youth together in *ORA* brigades⁵ was a means of imbuing brigadiers with a collective spirit, with the desire to create the functional “new man” who would constructively participate in the Yugoslav communist vision of “brotherhood and unity.” More precisely, the organization of youth brigades was seen as a method of equalizing thinking, erasing disparities between social milieus—rich and poor, urban and rural—, and diminishing cultural differences between Yugoslav ethnicities. On a practical level, the Party used the *ORA* framework to combat illiteracy by organizing educational and other courses in the brigades.⁶ By training brigadiers in manufacturing, *ORA* contributed to building up the capacity of Yugoslav industry. According to literature published in the 1980s, participation in *ORA* increased the opportunities of young people to find new jobs in companies related to brigade work.⁷ In addition, participation in *ORA* was a channel for social promotion within the village population, contributing to status improvement and enhancing economic and social prospects.

This strategy is reflected in a speech held by Tito on 1 January 1947, in which he clearly stressed the role of youth and their obligations:

Through voluntary work and strenuous self-sacrifice in rebuilding our country devastated by war, youth takes first place and underlines the glory of our younger generations in the Second World War [...] I want this year to be one of even greater effort, of more enthusiasm on the part of the younger generation, not only in rebuilding the country, but in all fields, for example in schools and universities. More education, skills, and cultural development must be your priority and whatever time is left should be spent rebuilding the country.⁸

Bearing these words in mind, the question arises as to what Tito meant by “whatever time is left.” It appears to have been free time. According to Tito, free time was to be organized in the “right” way, in other

⁵ *ORA* participants were collected in brigades and became brigadiers.

⁶ More than half a million young people received a basic education in *ORA*. Ibid., p. 10.

⁷ Some 80,000 brigadiers found jobs in different types of industry as a result of their *ORA* participation. Mihailović (1985, p. 10).

⁸ My translation, Spasović and Mihailović (1980, p. 37).

words as personal development by serving the country. Furthermore, free time was not to be spent leisurely but actively, i.e., in rebuilding the country in self-sacrifice for the common cause. Hence, the appropriate method of achieving a “purpose” was to become a member of the *ORA* brigades. Tito described *ORA* as

the best school for our youth. The younger generation learns how to appreciate work there, that work has a value and that laziness is beneath human dignity [...] Brotherhood and unity, and the great friendship between our peoples are made manifest by fraternizing in the brigades [...] My wish is that our younger generation pass through this school as you have already done [...] This is something that money cannot buy.⁹

The policy of Yugoslav nation-building via the educational use of leisure time and travel has parallels in both socialist and capitalist European countries of the twentieth century. In Sweden, for example, state campaigns encouraged citizens to visit certain natural landscapes and sites in their spare time.¹⁰ The intention was to inspire the Swedish people to assume a unique Swedish identity. For this purpose, the Swedish Tourist Association invented patriotic mottos, e.g., “Know your country” at the end of the nineteenth century, followed at the beginning of the twentieth century by “All of our country is worth knowing.”

In the case of post-WWII Yugoslavia, numerous *ORA* brigades were organized at the sites of key battles in the Second World War. Here, brigadiers were to be inspired by the myth of the moment, a symbolic bridge between the present and the recent heroic partisan past. Furthermore, construction projects were emboldened by *ORA* slogans underlining the collective and formative value of participation, such as “We build the motorway—the motorway builds us” (*Mi gradimo auto-put—auto-put gradi nas*) for the “Brotherhood and Unity” motorway.

Nonetheless ideological messages were occasionally lost on the individual. What, therefore, motivated young people to join the *ORA* brigades? What appeal did *ORA* hold for youngsters? What changes did motivation undergo between *ORA* organized after the Second World

⁹ Ibid., p. 77.

¹⁰ Löfgren (2001).

War and those after the political reforms of the 1960s? Did motivation differ in terms of gender? Were brigadiers attracted to *ORA* because participation entailed leaving home and a sense of adventure, e.g., life under harsh conditions in wild or uninhabited parts of the country? At what stage did state ideology compromise with the shift in motivation by participants who constructed a completely different meaning of *ORA*, i.e., *ORA* as an opportunity for recreational travel? Several political and economic developments contributed to forging a new perception of *ORA*, both on the part of the state and the brigadiers themselves, as will be discussed in detail further down.

Despite the official emphasis on continuing self-sacrifice for the benefit of the country, media reports, including official communist brochures and personal memories of brigadiers, presented *ORA* as an opportunity for young people to share the enthusiasm of working for a common ideal, meet new people, travel to hitherto unknown areas, and generally have a good time with their peers. Having fun away from home in a holiday atmosphere became the principal motivation for joining *ORA* trips. As a result, *ORA* acquired the features of a youth tourist culture. Taking into account the changing social structure of the brigadiers, the nature of the work in comparison to post-war *ORA*, and its rescheduling to focus exclusively on the summer months, the *ORA* of the 1970s and especially the 1980s can clearly be understood as a holiday practice that combined elements of shock-brigade labor with the adventure of travel.

Ideological Framework: The Party Position

The overall framework within which the Yugoslav Communist Party introduced *ORA* as an ideological tool was the concept of educating the young Yugoslav population to represent the “new man.” *ORA* was designed as a state-sponsored methodology to reinforce this overall vision and increase the quality of youth education to enable young people to function in and support socialist society. As Tito said:

Youth labor actions have not only made a significant material contribution to our socialist restructuring, but also a contribution to the ethical, political and ideological upbringing of youth, founded on common ground [...] The cooperative life of youth from different

republics during *ORA* has created a huge bulwark of brotherhood and unity among our people.¹¹

The Party made efforts to sustain so-called “revolutionary traditions” by forming a spiritual bridge between contemporary youth and those who were young during the Second World War. The cited deeds of partisan fighters constituted the basis of this idea. One of the methods adopted was to imbue the *ORA* program with partisan morale. There were two elements to this process: firstly, to underline the brigadiers’ “self-sacrifice,” and thus allow them to experience a motivation similar to the fighters in the partisan units during the Second World War, and secondly, to stress their individual worth and dedication in rebuilding the country. Altogether, the rebuilding project was presented as a form of peace-time battlefield, where *ORA* slogans seemed to immediately reflect partisan mottos. The wartime motto “Our struggle calls on us to sing when we die!” (*Naša borba zahtijeva: kad se gine da se pjeva!*), for example, was echoed in the *ORA* slogan “Our struggle calls on us to sing when we work!” (*Naša borba zahtijeva: kad se radi da se pjeva!*).

A further parallel between the self-sacrifice of the *ORA* brigades and war heroism was the notion that actions must be evaluated, measured and graded. In Tito’s words: “You, the youth, should develop socialist competition to the extent that it becomes a matter of pride and honor, as heroism was for every single fighter on the battlefield during the Second World War.”¹² In peace time, the Party sought new heroes, heroes of renewal. The strain of heroic self-sacrifice became a core element of the *ORA* system. As already mentioned, this system was constantly evaluated and graded. *ORA* leaders defined daily norms for all tasks. The goal was for each brigadier to achieve more than the target set for a particular task. Those who were successful were awarded the title of *udarnik* (“shock-brigade worker”) and hence became heroes of renewal. Their chief motto was “Our aim is the impossible” (*Nemoguće, to je naš cilj*). The following quotation from a text describing construction work at New Belgrade in the summer of 1948 shows how norms were exceeded and new norms posted on a daily basis:

¹¹ My translation. Tito (1952, pp. 82, 83).

¹² My translation. Spasović and Mihailović (1980, p. 59).

Youth set incredibly short deadlines. Nevertheless, norms changed, deadlines became shorter. New records every day. These shock-brigade competitions were not recorded in the history of *ORA*. The shock-brigade worker calendar was as follows: “31 August: bricklayer Radomir Milosavljević began to work as follows: Milosavljević’s assistants passed him bricks and laid plasterboard. He laid two wagons of bricks (30–34 m³) in eight hours. When he was finished, the brigadiers carried him on their hands [...] 1 September: bricklayer Svetko Piškulić broke Milosavljević’s record by erecting 34.95 m³ of the wall. 3 September: the bricklayers’ foreman on the student campus, Josip Blažek, broke the world record in erecting walls, which was 42 m³. Blažek erected 49.10 m³. On 26 September another unbelievable achievement: Radomir Milosavljević erected 100.45 m³ of the wall.¹³

Finally, *ORA* served as a recruitment and selection process for party membership. The best workers were invited to join as a reward for strenuous labor. Also, the Party nomenclature used *udarnici* to show what the “new man” should look like, behave, and act. As part of an overall communist campaign, the media reported on these young people. The weekly family leisure magazine *Vikend*, published in Croatia, wrote about young *udarnici*. Goran Nikolić, a nineteen-year-old brigadier from Sremska Mitrovica in Vojvodina, became an *udarnik* during the “Šamac–Sarajevo 1978” *ORA* labor action.¹⁴ As a result of his work achievements and befitting attitude, the *ORA* leadership proposed him for party membership.¹⁵

Besides the “Brotherhood and Unity” motorway, stressed above as a paradigm of *ORA*, another exemplary ideological task was the erection of youth recreation centers around memorials dedicated to renowned partisan heroes and battles of the Second World War. These sites were to be the destination of group excursions for schoolchildren and students, which would to a certain extent assume the character of a pilgrimage. The work of building recreational centers at memorial sites was again intended to interlink the experiences of wartime youth with those of contemporary youth. Examples of this kind include the con-

¹³ Spasović and Mihailović (1980, p. 68).

¹⁴ As stated earlier, construction of the Šamac–Sarajevo railway began in 1947. However, maintenance of the railway continued for decades.

¹⁵ Jakelić (1979, p. 8).

struction of the youth resort at Sutjeska on the Zelengora Mountain in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where a heroic partisan struggle led by Tito took place in summer 1943. The building of the resort infrastructure at Sutjeska got under way in 1973, precisely thirty years later. Tito welcomed the brigadiers and explained the significance of the site. In addition, he stressed why it was vital that youth realize the project and why the resort was important for Yugoslav youth in general:

You are at the place where partisan fighters fought a battle of life and death in 1943. Sons from all our nations died here. More than six thousand partisans died in the Sutjeska battle [...] You are building a large youth centre that will draw young people from all parts of our country, not merely to enjoy the beauty of nature, but to forge closer relations that will strengthen brotherhood and unity, and nurture the traditions of the liberation struggle.¹⁶

However, not everyone was eligible for these *ORA*; only those who had proven themselves at their work were selected. Thus, participation in *ORA* brigades was tantamount to a special award. Partisan veterans frequently acted as commanders of this type of *ORA* brigade, an aspect that was meant as encouragement to participate and achieve greater labor results.

The personal memories of one former *ORA* brigadier mirror the Party's efforts to reward "proven" youth through participation in the most outstanding *ORA* projects.¹⁷ Nenad, a journalist from Belgrade, was in seventh class at primary school in 1983. When he was fourteen, the school awarded him a place in the "Borsko jezero 1983" *ORA* (Serbia) for his merits as a classmate and pupil:

It was incredible when a friend of mine read out the announcement in front of the class. It stated that several other students and I had received an award due to outstanding results in school and unselfish friendship. The announcement was read out in front of every school class. I felt proud of myself. However, I was proud and satisfied because of other things, too.

¹⁶ My translation. Spasović and Mihailović (1980, p. 144).

¹⁷ Biographical memories demonstrate how *ORA* were assessed over time from a personal perspective, and how former brigadiers analysed their motives for participation.

The “other things” that gave Nenad a sense of satisfaction beyond the opportunity to participate in the youth brigade constitute a new page in the exploration of *ORA*.

Transformation: New Aims and Motivation

The initial representation of *ORA* as a special school for the creation of the “new man” and the development of socialist patriotism faltered as it faced new challenges and a new era. Young people lost interest in participating in ideologically shaped events with objectives that excluded their motivations and interests. Thus, in order to attract younger generations to participate, the Party was increasingly obliged to take brigadiers’ emotions into account, and attempted to enrich the social life in the *ORA* brigades by placing the emphasis on having fun. This created space for crucial transformations in the organization of *ORA*, now struggling with a growing disinterest in cooperative work, not only on the part of brigadiers but of society as a whole, which had generally lost interest in politically directed events of this kind. The greatest changes concerned the rapidly decreasing number of brigade volunteers, the drop in the age of participants (to mostly primary and high school age), increased female participation, and the scheduling of *ORA* labor activities for certain periods of the year. They suggest that the established *ORA* objectives were no longer valid and that a substantial number of new brigadiers were losing interest in this type of work. This is reflected in Nenad’s comments on the additional *ORA* rewards promised:

I have a brother who is two years older than I am, and who was also allowed to join *ORA*. When he got there, he was given the best sneakers ever, Adidas sneakers, as well as a blue worker’s outfit, which was a popular fashion item at that time. I dreamed about those sneakers. What work? Who cares about work? Who cares about being a shock-brigade worker? I went there because of the sneakers and I got them. I wore them for about three years. My friends envied me my sneakers for three years.

At the end of the 1950s and particularly from the mid-1960s onwards, *ORA* was predominantly organized during the summer months, when

school pupils and university students had long holidays.¹⁸ On the republican and municipal level, *ORA* replaced the earlier large, federal infrastructure projects, while motorized construction equipment replaced youth's manual labor, resulting in a decline in the number of brigadiers.¹⁹

All of these changes affected the nature of the physical work carried out, i.e., the work done by brigadiers was not as tough as that of the *ORA* brigades organized immediately after the Second World War. With reference to brigadier preferences, the early phase of *ORA* development—from the late 1940s up to the 1950s and early 1960s—was marked by *ORA* organization in the construction of railways, motorways, and industrial complexes, work that was subjectively desired and endorsed. By the second phase—from the early 1960s to the 1990s—tasks had changed. Among the primary *ORA* activities were, for example, afforestation, the building of youth recreational centers, archaeological excavations, and the settling of river banks, while projects involving the construction of industries or railways were no longer opportune.²⁰ During the first phase, heavy machinery was not available to the brigades, and vast projects were completed with manual labor, which was at the very least physically exacting. More recent types of *ORA* labor, such as afforestation and archaeological excavation, on the other hand, did not require heavy machinery, and the work

¹⁸ The following schedule of the federally organized *SORA* (*ORA* at federal level) in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1974 indicates that the brigades took place during the summer months only. *Mladost u akciji ORA '74* (1974, p. 90):

ORA Belgrade—Bar, Settlement 74—Jabuka (Serbia):

I shift of brigadiers, 10 June to 6 July; II shift, 7 July to 3 August; III shift, 4 August to 1 September.

ORA Niš '74 (Serbia):

I shift, 9 June to 6 July; II shift, 7 July to 3 August; III shift, 4 August to 1 September.

ORA Sava '74 (Croatia):

I shift, 12 June to 7 July; II shift, 8 July to 4 August; III shift, 5 August to 1 September.

ORA Kozara 74 (Bosnia and Herzegovina):

I shift, 4 July to 3 August; II shift, 4 August to 1 September.

¹⁹ The organizational development of *ORA* from 1946–1990 can be found in the Appendix.

²⁰ Mihailović (1980, p. 63).

itself was easier. Heavy machinery was mostly limited to construction projects that regulated river banks. In the transformation period, therefore, manual labor was no longer required on the scale at which it had been utilized in the initial years after the Second World War.

An example of the “new age” of *ORA* is the construction at Ada Ciganlija, an artificial lake in Belgrade fed by the Sava River. The project began in the summer of 1955. Ada Ciganlija became a highly popular recreation spot for the citizens of Belgrade. Crowded for most of the year, it still enjoys vast popularity today. More than 200,000 visitors go there in the summer every day; they enjoy swimming or other facilities, such as the numerous night clubs and sports grounds. During the autumn, winter, and spring, Ada Ciganlija is mostly used for activities such as walking, jogging, and fishing, but also for collective sport activities. The Yugoslav communist party propaganda brochures reported enthusiastically on the *ORA* building achievement of Ada Ciganlija: “Ada Ciganlija is becoming more and more popular among our youth. With its sound working plans, good life, and organized fun, work on structuring Ada has become an inspiration to others to fight for the revival of youth voluntary work.”²¹ Tito himself visited Ada Ciganlija on 8 July 1960. At the time, 3,144 brigadiers divided into 22 brigades were involved in constructing the area.²²

Even official literature like *Stvaraoci neodoljivog poleta* reported that the *ORA* organized from the early 1960s had changed radically from the type of *ORA* organized immediately after the Second World War. The following is a quotation that deals specifically with the *ORA* organized in 1967: “Today, *ORA* differs from large-scale labor actions: the number of participants has decreased, shifts are shorter, living and working conditions have improved, the food is more diverse and of high quality, and the opportunities for learning and fun are immense.”²³ Furthermore, according to the memories of a former brigadier from the 1980s, some received a small allowance.²⁴ In addition, as stated in

²¹ Spasović and Mihailović (1980, p. 122).

²² Ibid., p. 122.

²³ Ibid., p. 133.

²⁴ Zoran, a former *ORA* brigadier with *ORA* “Petrova Gora ’89,” which is quoted several times in the paper, stated that one of his friends received payment comparable to the allowance of an ordinary soldier on compulsory military service in former Yugoslavia.

Stvaraoci neodoljivog poleta,²⁵ there were many opportunities to have fun in *ORA*. The youth organizations frequently staged rock, folk, or classical music concerts, as well as cinema screenings or plays. Entertainment and sports activities were also organized individually. It was this kind of activity that became a convincing argument for youth to join a brigade. On a scale of one to five, fun figured as the key motive for participation with a rating of 4.19.²⁶ According to the same survey conducted among *ORA* brigadiers all over Yugoslavia in 1985, sport activities ranked 4.05, cultural activities 3.48, ideological and political courses 3.17, and other courses 3.14.²⁷

At the same time, the ideological content of the new *ORA* remained conspicuously in the foreground as an overall objective, but underneath appeared to be no more than a remnant of the previous concept.

The Changing Nature of *ORA*

The shift in motivation underlined the need to change the nature of *ORA* on a structural level. This led firstly to its rejuvenation, since more primary and high school students formed brigades than was the case with the “veteran” adult brigades.²⁸ This was primarily due to less demanding physical work and the nature of the tasks to be performed. The early infrastructure projects had largely excluded children and been accomplished by brigades of young men, mainly students, but also villagers and workers. However, the state now no longer required manpower on a mass scale, especially since civil engineering companies employing educated engineers and skilled workers had been established.

Secondly, *ORA* became increasingly open to the participation of girls and young women. According to the rules for the organization of *ORA* in Serbia, adopted on 2 April 1974, the brigades were to include at

²⁵ *Stvaraoci neodoljivog poleta* is a popular history of *ORA* written in propaganda form. The paper was published in Belgrade in 1980. Full bibliographical information can be found in the bibliography.

²⁶ Mihailović (1985, p. 166).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²⁸ The “veterans” category included groups of physically strong adult men in their early twenties.

least 20 percent women.²⁹ This development was quite a step forward, chiefly because of existing patriarchal norms that widely regulated the social life of female youth and permeated the youth organizations. There was general disapproval, for example, of girls travelling freely and spending at least a month—the duration of an *ORA* shift—with young males. Even in large Yugoslav cities like Belgrade at that time, these attitudes persisted until the 1980s, and in some instances have survived up to the present day. Zoran, an interviewee from a small town in eastern Bosnia, who had joined a brigade in 1989, recalled: “My *ORA* girlfriend (she was from Belgrade) told me that she could not persuade her parents to let her go to *ORA* until they were sure that some of her girlfriends from school also wanted to go. They said yes in the end. Fortunately!”³⁰

Thirdly, the new brigadier generation perceived *ORA* as an opportunity to travel. The brigades formed a medium through which they could organize their holiday time during the summer and visit unfamiliar parts of the country free of charge. Also, youthful curiosity and the monotony of being at home additionally encouraged young people to participate.

Fourthly, the higher number of school children, and particularly girls, in the *ORA* brigades had a strong impact on the expected results of and attitudes to the work itself. Young women and men were, for example, assigned different tasks. Zoran explained the difference between male and female tasks in his afforestation project as follows: “One team of men carried the bundle of trees to be planted in the holes. A second male team dug the holes with their spades. The third team, composed of both men and women, placed the trees in the holes.”³¹

As labor expectations changed, *ORA* ceased to exist as a specific tool for the ideological shaping of brigadiers, and acquired the character of multifunctional events. Immediately after the Second World War, sacrifices made for the good of the country and the education of youth in the interests of patriotism and the socialist spirit were pre-

²⁹ Pravila organizovanja omladinskih radnih akcija u Srbiji, in *Mladost u akciji, ORA '74* (1974, p. 135).

³⁰ Oral history interview with Zoran, a former brigadier in the “Petrova Gora ‘89” *ORA*.

³¹ Ibid.

dominant aspects of *ORA*. However, after its transformation into brigades, where primary and high school students constituted the largest group, the most appealing component of *ORA* to youth was the fun it promised and the potential this had to satisfy an adolescent nature. The focus on schoolchildren also altered the *ORA* timeframe. While originally organized between early spring and late autumn in the earlier phase, the brigade projects were now concentrated in the summer months to enable the participation of school pupils.³²

It is important to stress that unlike in several other socialist countries, where participation in summer youth brigades was compulsory, the Yugoslav *ORA* were voluntary despite heavy official promotion. Indeed, significant numbers of young people left brigades. Between 1946 and 1973 an average of 15 percent of brigadiers abandoned their work.³³ In 1962, 13 percent of brigadiers left *ORA* during construction of the “Brotherhood and Unity” motorway, and in 1964, seven percent of brigadiers left *ORA* in the course of constructing the Adriatic highway, which extended down the Croatian coast to Montenegro.³⁴ In Serbia, the “New Belgrade” construction site was deserted by 16.5 percent of brigadiers between 1968 and 1971, while 16 percent left the “Green Zone of Djerdap”³⁵ between 1969 and 1970, 18 percent left the “Niš” *ORA* in 1971, and another 18 percent left the “Morava” *ORA* in the same year.³⁶ On the other hand, a survey of all Yugoslav *ORA* in 1980 indicated that a mere 1.3 percent of brigadiers had left their work in that year.³⁷ Thus, it appears that larger numbers of brigadiers abandoned sites during the early phase of *ORA* development and the initial decades of transformation compared to the *ORA* phase beginning in the 1970s. This was presumably due to the physi-

³² For most school pupils in former Yugoslavia the school year lasted from 1 September until 20 June. Pupils in their final year at primary and high school formed an exception. Their school year finished at the end of May to allow preparation for enrolment in high schools or universities.

³³ Mihailović (1980, p. 81).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁵ This project secured a green zone around the “Djerdap” power plant in Eastern Serbia, the largest in former Yugoslavia.

³⁶ Mihailović (1980, p. 81).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

cally hard labor and lack of civil engineering facilities that marked brigade labor at that time.

Yugoslav literature on *ORA* from the early 1950s up to the mid-1980s³⁸ stressed that the changing motivation of youth to participate in *ORA* had a strong impact on the character of the brigades. According to published surveys, official promotion in the transformation period successfully encouraged the notion of “friendship” with youth from all over Yugoslavia and the opportunity of spreading brotherhood and unity. However, although brigadiers resorted to this ideological framework when explaining their reasons for joining, they supplemented it by emphasizing other meanings that contributed to the fun factor involved in *ORA*, such as mingling with other young people.

Initial surveys on aims and motivation for participation in the youth labor brigades date from the late 1950s.³⁹ According to the results, one of the main engines for youth to take part in *ORA* was to make friends and develop closer relations with their peer generation throughout Yugoslavia. More detailed surveys were conducted at the beginning of the 1970s.⁴⁰ In a 1970 sample of 1,680 students in Zagreb high schools, for example, 15 percent answered that *ORA* helped to develop working habits and discipline, 10 percent emphasized that *ORA* was a vital tool to inculcate youth with a sense of socialism and patriotism, while 47 percent underlined getting together with youth from all over the country as the most positive aim of *ORA* and the biggest motivation for joining.⁴¹

Other surveys of that time⁴² and overall statistics indicate that making friends with youth from all over Yugoslavia, the idea of brotherhood and unity, and simply getting together with other young people were the predominant aims for participation for well over 80 percent of brigadiers between 1974 and 1981.⁴³ Table 1 demonstrates that the

³⁸ Bora Kuzmanović, Rudi Supek, Srećko Mihailović, Vladimir Obradović, and others.

³⁹ Research by Rudi Supek.

⁴⁰ Research by Kuzmanović, Mihailović, and Obradović.

⁴¹ Kuzmanović (1978, p. 659).

⁴² Like, for instance, the survey focusing on the “Morava 1972” *ORA* in Serbia. See *ibid.*, pp. 665–7.

⁴³ Mihailović (1980, p. 29).

traditional *ORA* aim of restructuring the country, intended as the key motivation for youngsters to participate and hence prepare themselves to serve their country, had lost in currency compared to the notion of making friends. In the period mentioned, this category (restructuring the country) dropped from 46 percent of brigadiers (1974) who declared restructuring the country as the prime aim of *ORA* to approximately 26 percent in 1981.

Table 1. *Motivating factors for joining ORA, 1974–1981.*⁴⁴

<i>ORA</i> objectives according to youth	1974 %	1975 %	1977 %	1980 %	1981 %
Acquire work habits	13.70	17.80	13.90	17.00	17.30
Develop internationalism	5.80	4.10	3.20	4.00	1.10
Get together with other youth and build brotherhood and unity	84.50	88.80	83.90	85.00	85.30
Develop self-management	12.40	19.70	28.10	23.20	29.70
Educate youth	8.40	10.20	12	10.20	9.80
Restructure the country	46.10	40.20	32.70	32.70	25.60
Erase differences between social classes	11.10	13.00	13.40	11.00	7.10
Affirmation of youth	3.20	6.20	7.50	5.20	4.90

All in all, as the numbers in Table 1 illustrate very well, building quality interpersonal relations became the by far strongest motivation to join *ORA*. Nevertheless, labor remained the sine qua non of *ORA*, but work achievements alone did not trigger the desire to take part in its activities. Well aware of the shift in attitudes to *ORA*, the Party promoted the concept of “friendship” as a means of achieving the same ideological and political end, i.e., to create the “new man.” Thus the endorsement of friendship as a vital element of brigade life corresponded to the official *ORA* program, and contributed to its relative popularity among the younger generation of the time.

However, friendship and socializing had to take place in the appropriate context. Only friendship crossed with labor provided a suitable

⁴⁴ Source: *ibid.*, p. 29.

motive for *ORA* participation. *ORA* slogans from August 1980 underlined this prerequisite, like the following one: “The more sweat—the more calluses; the more calluses—the more friends; the more friends—the more beautiful heaven.”⁴⁵ Slogans like this one reflected the idea that brigadiers were removed from everyday life during their period in *ORA*, and while work was hard and full of trials, it had the semblance of being a form of initiation. Together, youth braved the same difficulties with the common goal of creating something that could not be achieved outside *ORA*. They were united by a sense of destiny, which gave rise to strong relationships (friendship), with labor (“the callus”) as the common denominator. Similar metaphors were employed in the context of military service in former Yugoslavia. Here, males acquired mythological attributes by appealing to strong emotions constantly propagated in the form of stereotypical stories of immortal friendship.

***ORA*: A Summer Adventure?**

After the readjustment of *ORA* towards a less strenuous form of brigade work, youth motivation for participation was increasingly shaped by the concept of friendship and its principal effect—having fun. Various sociological surveys of the 1970s⁴⁶ throughout Yugoslavia investigated the relationship between the motivation for and expectations of participation in *ORA*. The surveys defined friendship as the integrative category for motivation to join. The subcategories were as follows: firstly, to be together with old friends; secondly, to reinforce contacts or strike up new acquaintances; thirdly, to spend time in a large collective; fourthly, to get to know different life styles; fifthly, to enjoy further *ORA* with friends made during previous brigade work.⁴⁷ Thus, the notion of “making friends” appeared to be the essence of all categories, i.e., forging closer ties with the same generation in new places, where social interaction necessarily leads to having fun.

Hence, the concept of fun was one of the key methods used by youth organizations to continuously attract young people to the *ORA* brigades. This was emphasized above with reference to the rich social life dur-

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴⁶ Kuzmanović (1978, p. 664).

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 664, 665.

ing the construction in 1967 of the artificial lake Ada Ciganlija in Belgrade.⁴⁸

In fact, leisure time was planned in advance of the brigadiers' arrival at the work site, and contained standard elements. One of the main components was the campfire, a symbol of relaxation and recreation during the Second World War. Between fighting, partisans would gather around campfires, where dancing and singing raised the morale of the partisan units and provided relief from the havoc of war. By encouraging this form of relaxation and reminiscing about the partisan way of life, the Party aimed to anchor a crucial ideological component in the new *ORA* context, which was to remain part of collective *ORA* leisure time into the 1980s. A report in the leisure magazine *Vikend* in 1980 focused on singing as a recreational activity: "The brigadiers' singing is great fun since they formed a choir during the SORA⁴⁹ "Power plant Čakovec." They sing revolutionary songs as well as traditional songs of all our ethnicities. The brigadiers are youth from Split, Osijek, Zagreb, Tetovo, and Zenica. The name of the choir is "Brotherhood and Unity."⁵⁰

Apart from ideologically anchored entertainment, *ORA* staff also organized more contemporary group activities, such as film screenings, discos, and folk, rock, or classical music concerts. However, many brigadiers were indifferent to organized leisure or interested in other activities than those already planned. A survey carried out between 1970 and 1981 shows that the entertainment provided by *ORA* received usually a rating of slightly more than three on a scale of one to five.⁵¹ Many young people preferred spontaneous or informal leisure activities. Zoran, for example, recalled how he and his brigadier friends had enjoyed their spare time:

I wasn't interested in being part of organized activities at all, but preferred to be with a group of about twenty people. We organized our own fun every day, mostly played the guitar or accordion and sang. I preferred that kind of fun because I wanted to be closer to a girl I

⁴⁸ Spasović and Mihailović (1985, p. 133).

⁴⁹ *ORA* was organized at federal level. The federal youth association (*Savez socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije*) organized this particular *ORA*.

⁵⁰ Jurgec (1980, p. 54).

⁵¹ In 1971 (3.00), 1972 (3.14), 1973 (3.30), 1974 (3.48), 1977 (3.39), 1979 (3.25), and in 1981 (3.11); Mihailović (1980, p. 160).

was interested in. She was from Belgrade. Actually, men generally preferred this kind of get-together because it was easier to get closer to girls. I mean in this sense they were more “available”!

Structural changes in the workload and social make-up of *ORA* gave the brigades a new quality and paved the way for new perceptions of *ORA* as an opportunity to take a special kind of holiday, i.e., a free ticket to adventure, in other words shock-brigade tourism. For many young people, *ORA* was a way to spend some of their free time in the summer, to meet new people, to have a good time, and to experience life and work in the collective, inspired by the stories of brigadiers who had participated in *ORA* in the past.

Official sources stressed that *ORA* enabled brigadiers from low-income families to travel to popular tourist destinations free of charge. Transport, food, and lodging were free, and brigadiers had the opportunity to spend the summer away from home, either at the seaside or in the mountains.⁵² Zoran described how youth from different backgrounds remained friends after their first *ORA* brigade participation:

People simply didn't want to go home. They were completely free in *ORA* and were reluctant to lose this new-found freedom. You know, boys met girls, girls met boys, people became very good friends [...] What did they do? If they had time, after all school started on 1 September, they all applied together for a new *ORA*. And they just continued the adventure. You know, there were long discussions about whether to continue having their freedom at the seaside, in the mountains, in *ORA*, or in other places. In one group of friends, however, there were some who could not afford to go to the seaside. Quite a number in fact. The others were sympathetic towards those with less money and everyone agreed to take part in *ORA* instead of going to the seaside. In reality, a new love determined decisions. It was very easy for boys and girls who did not belong to the same social status to have a relationship in *ORA*. Had it not been for *ORA*, many could not have afforded to leave home during the summer. Of course, love knows no borders and was an integrating factor. As a result of love it was not difficult to agree where to go together.

⁵² Kuzmanović (1978, p. 673).

ORA also played a similarly important role for children of the Yugoslav diaspora. During the summer, these children visited Yugoslavia with their parents to see their families and friends. Many stayed with relatives, while others enjoyed holidays by the sea or elsewhere. Some, however, enrolled in *ORA* brigades. In 1980, for instance, the magazine *Vikend* reported on an *ORA* brigade from Bavaria: "Around fifty youth, children of our diaspora who work in Germany, have once again been working this summer on the island of Obonjan, the island of youth, near Šibenik. They participated in the third *ORA* brigade."⁵³

Presumably, a major motivation for diaspora youth to take part in *ORA* was to meet up with their diaspora friends or those living in Yugoslavia, and to make new acquaintances, similar to the aim of Yugoslav participants. However, there were evident economic differences between the diaspora children, generally from families who earned their living in the West, and their friends in Yugoslavia. As a result, it was difficult to maintain friendships when diaspora families planned to spend their holidays in tourist resorts. Most of their friends lived in the rural areas, where the majority of diaspora families came from, and were not wealthy enough to spend summer holidays in places frequented by their diaspora peers. Moreover, parts of the rural population had not developed a culture of going away on holidays, irrespective of whether villagers had the resources or not. In the village of Šepšin, some 50 km from Belgrade, for example, parents explained to children who asked for money to go on holiday that they wanted to save it for "hard times," and that going on holidays was a luxury and a waste of money.⁵⁴ Therefore, in order to spend more time with their friends, diaspora youth sometimes joined their Yugoslav friends in *ORA*, where all of them could be together.

From the Party perspective, *ORA* played a key role in introducing diaspora children to the Yugoslav communist vision. Nurturing socialist patriotism in the Yugoslav communities abroad posed a significant challenge to the government due to the alleged unceasing agitation by anti-communist forces who had fled the country after the Second

⁵³ Stupalo (1980, p. 55).

⁵⁴ Author's recollection: young people complained that they were unable to go to the seaside during the summer holidays due to the thrifty attitude of their parents.

World War. Thus, *ORA* was seen as an appropriate tool to combat negative influences. Party interest in *ORA* was officially emphasized in Article 5 of the “Rules for organizing *ORA* in Serbia,” which underlined that youth from abroad (diaspora children) should find a place in the *ORA* brigades.⁵⁵ Many diaspora youth and families with socialist convictions saw *ORA* as a vital opportunity for young people growing up abroad to familiarize themselves with Yugoslavia and emotionally experience the “Yugoslav spirit.” *ORA* retained Yugoslav symbolism to the end.

Conclusion

The nature of the *ORA* brigades altered significantly over time, as did the brigadiers’ reasons for participation. However, although the Party was forced to accept change, *ORA* remained a firm ideological concept and one of the most important tools in the ideological construction of Yugoslav youth. Up until the end, the Party refused to officially recognize that developments had taken place in *ORA* that might have contradicted overall communist aims. Furthermore, Party leaders chose to ignore young peoples’ real motivation for wanting to participate in such events after the transformation of the 1960s.

Prior to the transformation period, the motivation of young volunteers was largely in line with official *ORA* aims to construct the “new man” and industrialize the country. The brigadiers tended to perceive *ORA* as the Party did. However, the later implementation of structural and organizational changes paved the way for a split between the official aims and the needs and motivations of the brigadiers. From the late 1960s, labor remained the essential reason for the existence of youth brigade action, but no longer represented the principal aim or motivation for youth to take part. Having fun gradually took over as the primary, unofficial motivation, i.e., making friends during summer camps, which themselves began to resemble a form of organized tourism. Thus, *ORA* represented multifunctional events that combined functions that were both official and unofficial.

⁵⁵ Pravila organizovanja omladinskih radnih akcija u Srbiji, p. 134.

On the whole, the *ORA* adventure had one specific characteristic: it was marked by the sweat and calluses of physical work, and retained labor as a core symbol. As a result, it assumed a mythological character that captured the imagination of youth and thus ensured the survival of *ORA* for many decades. Still, this did not eclipse what *ORA* ultimately represented to countless participants: an opportunity to enjoy a working holiday, travel the country and explore summer pleasures, while pursuing concrete goals for the common good.

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APPENDIX: Structural Changes in the Organization of ORA, 1946–1990⁵⁶

ORA's heyday, 1946–1951	Large youth brigades are organized at federal level by the People's Youth of Yugoslavia (<i>Narodna omladina Jugoslavije, NOJ</i>), known after 1952 as the Alliance of Socialist Yugoslav Youth (<i>Savez socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije, SSOJ</i>). These activities are officially referred to as SORA (<i>Savezne omladinske radne akcije</i>).
Local ORA, 1952–1957	Brigades are mostly organized by the republican branches of the federal youth organization.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 9.

Revival of SORA, 1958–1964	SORA are the main form of organization during this period, with a number of <i>ORA</i> run by republican youth organizations and a few by municipal youth organizations. The last large-scale <i>ORA</i> was organized in 1964, i.e., the “Jadranska magistrala” <i>ORA</i> (Adriatic highway).
Restructuring of local labor action, 1965–1967	<i>ORA</i> are predominantly organized by the republican youth organizations.
Reaffirmation of youth voluntary work, 1968–1990	<i>ORA</i> are predominantly organized by republican and municipal youth organizations, with very little SORA activity.

What To Do at the Weekend?

Leisure for Happy Consumers, Refreshed Workers, and Good Citizens

Igor Duda

One of the films presented at the 15th National Film Festival in Pula tackled the subject of family problems in contemporary urban life, albeit in an entertaining manner. A couple with two sons divorce. The husband, a company manager with close links to the authorities, marries a young wife, has a pleasant, well-furnished house, a new car, and on the whole, a good life. His first wife marries a classical musician who has no interest in the first wave of consumer frenzy, but she has notions of grandeur and is keen to compete with her first husband's luxurious lifestyle. The film was entitled *I Have Two Mums and Two Dads* and the year 1968.¹ At one point in the film the father, his two sons, and his new family take a weekend trip on a bright sunny day. They park the car by a river in the green outskirts of Zagreb, take out all kinds of equipment, gadgets, and toys, and pursue various activities: sun-bathing, car-washing, listening to music, and fishing. While fishing, the father shares some weekend wisdom with the younger son, who was worried about his mother's nervous and somewhat bitter attitude: "Don't make a mountain out of a molehill. Socialism is here to make the clever ones feel good." The boy just sits quietly by the water.

Socialism certainly paid attention to quality of life, work, and leisure. Inspired by Marxism, the renowned final program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1958 aspired to an "empire of freedom," and declared the trade unions responsible for living and working conditions, including daily, weekly, and annual breaks.² In pursuit of this idea, the congress documents of the Association of Trade Unions of

¹ Krešo Golik, director, *Imam 2 mame i 2 tate* (1968). Zagreb: Jadran film. Based on the novel by Tušek (1968).

² See *Program Saveza komunista Jugoslavije* (1965, pp. 228, 241).

Yugoslavia pointed out the importance of well-organized daily and weekly breaks for greater productivity and improved working results.³ The republican trade unions shared this view, as did their committees for rest and recreation, whose goal was to organize leisure “in unspoiled natural environments that had a healthy climate, were peaceful and had preserved their original beauty.”⁴ In a period of rapid urbanization, the trade union leisure officials perceived cities as ugly crowded places where the air was polluted and people were exposed to tension and infections. Moreover, they pointed out that the number of excursion sites (*izletište*) on the outskirts of the cities were inadequate, and criticized some of them as scenes of boredom and excessive drinking. Therefore new sites had to be planned and constructed, provide space for sports grounds, culture, music, and other forms of leisure. The trade union’s plan was as follows: “Considering the fact that a large section of the workers is still not used to an active weekly break, it is our task to create a leisure routine through the labor organizations (*radna organizacija*) by arranging various excursions, with as rich a content as possible.”⁵ By providing the right conditions, the officials expected “the towns to be practically empty on Saturdays, Sundays, and public holidays.”⁶

However, the role of the trade unions and other mass organizations turned out to be indecisive in the area of weekly breaks, especially after the 1960s. In 1968, the year the Zagreb family weekend trip was shown on the festival screen in the amphitheatre in Pula, the popular weekly magazine *Vikend* went on sale in the kiosks for the first time. It covered leisure and pleasure topics: excursions, domestic tourism, travel abroad, show business, music, literature, cars, fishing and hunting, recreation and sports, health, hobbies, do-it-yourself, and fashion.

³ HDA (Hrvatski državni arhiv), VSSH (Vijeće Saveza sindikata Hrvatske, fond 1286), box 1588, Centralno vijeće Saveza sindikata Jugoslavije, V. kongres, *Odmor i fizička kultura. Elementi zdravlja i produktivnosti rada. Materijal za diskusiju*, Beograd, 1964.

⁴ HDA VSSH 1588, Republičko vijeće SSJ za Hrvatsku, Odbor za odmor i rekreaciju, *Koreferat za Plenum RV. Polsatni, dnevni i nedjeljni odmor radnika*, 1964.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

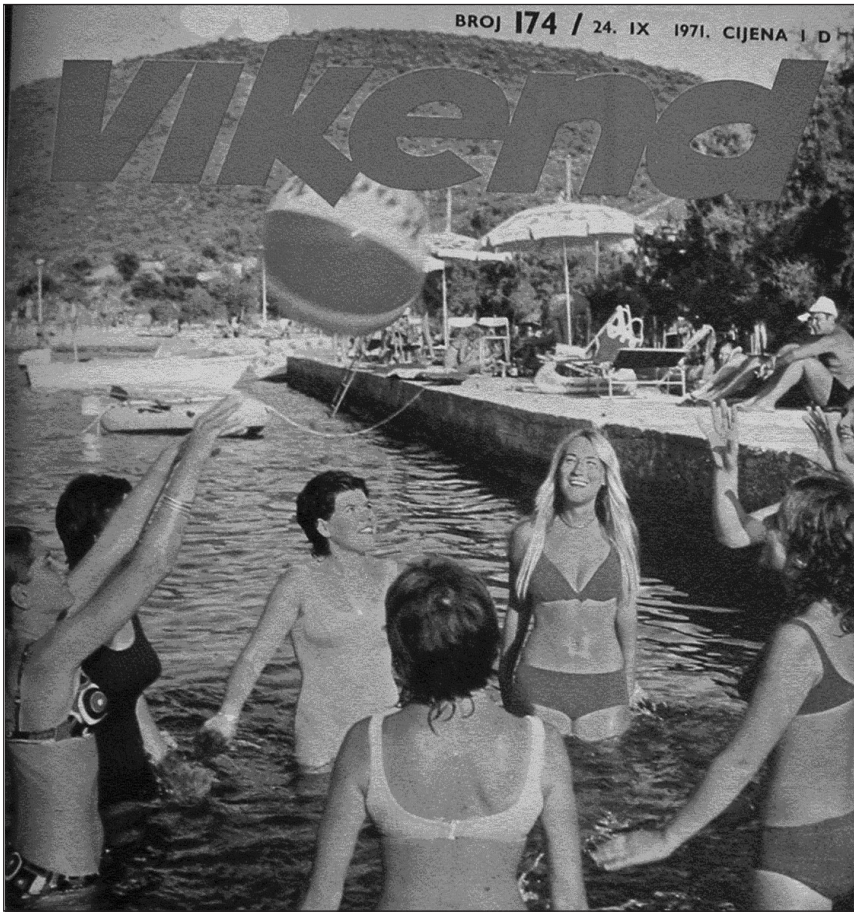


Figure 1. *At the beach* (Vikend, 1971)

The editorial approach placed the weekend primarily in the private sphere and the realm of consumerism. The *Vikend* magazine, the results of contemporary market research and sociological surveys, tourism journals, and labor legislation all serve as sources in compiling the history of the weekend in the second half of the twentieth century, including how they were constructed and how they were spent. These sources offer insights into the legislative construction of the weekend, its promotion as a time for active relaxation and tourism, and the ways in which weekends were anticipated and experienced, either with joy or disappointment.

Making the Weekend

The word *weekend* first appeared in the English language in 1878, when a name was needed for the legally established weekly break between Saturday afternoon and Monday morning.⁷ Since Sundays were meant for church, for clean bodies dressed in best clothes, Saturday afternoons were perfect for the preparation of the Sunday ritual, which also involved socializing and leisure.⁸ After the First World War the term spread to other European languages. In the 1920s, the Germans had *das Wochenende*, while the French and the Italians adopted the English word. In none of the languages was the word a purely technical expression for a period of time, but always meant more. It involved a cultural concept of leisure that was originally associated with high society, but was then transformed, linked to parallel concepts in the working class, and finally embraced by the masses between the 1930s and 1960s.

The question of the weekend was inextricably bound up with shorter working hours. The second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century was a vital period when working hours were reduced in Europe and North America. As early as 1833, Robert Owen introduced the idea of a working day that would last only eight hours.⁹ Some thirty years later the workers in the United States fought under the slogan: "Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will."¹⁰ This idea was gradually put into practice and became a widespread European solution in 1919, primarily as a reward for the sufferings of the population during the First World War.¹¹ After 1917, the Russian labor force had to work eight hours per day from Monday to Friday and six hours on Saturdays, making a total of forty-six hours per week.¹² Russians were also entitled to a weekly break of not less than a continuous forty-two hours, which was in fact a genuine weekend. Around that time, the French introduced a half-day on Saturday

⁷ *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁸ See Rybczynski (1992).

⁹ See Cross (1989, p. 124); Corbin (1996, pp. 311–3).

¹⁰ See Corbin, *ibid.*; Rybczynski (1992, p. 133).

¹¹ See Cross (1989, p. 128).

¹² See Chase and Siegelbaum (1988, p. 185).

and the five-and-a-half-day work schedule, referring to it as “the English week” (*la semaine anglaise*).¹³ These solutions were under consideration all over Europe, although the workers themselves were more interested in higher wages than a further shortening of working hours, particularly if the anticipated reduction was tantamount to lower income.¹⁴ The industrial culture of the 1920s and 1930s did not envisage long weekly breaks, weekend trips, or tourism. Saturday afternoons and Sundays were more than enough for social gatherings in pubs or elsewhere in the neighborhood, to play cards and other games, take short walks, or engage in typical working-class leisure activities. Organized sport was a novelty for the working class, which still regarded spending a weekend away from home as a privilege of the upper classes.

A journal was published in Zagreb in 1932 especially for this group, and even distributed in the express trains of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The title was *Weekend: revija putovanja i stranaca Jugoslavije* (“Weekend: Magazine for travel and foreigners in Yugoslavia”), with editor-in-chief Damir Ugarković.¹⁵ The periodical was more a collection of advertisements and articles on hotels, guesthouses, shops, and holiday resorts on the Adriatic coast and in the Slovenian Alps than a real magazine with regular issues. Its subtitle was a good description of the contents: *Propaganda kupališta, lječilišta i ljetovališta sa modnim i zabavnim prilogom* (“Information on bathing spots, spas and summer resorts, with a supplement on fashion and entertainment”). Two aspects of the magazine should be pointed out. Firstly, since the magazine was not widely read, had an English title and targeted foreigners and travelers, it was unable to attract a wider audience or influence the masses. Secondly, the title of the magazine is possibly the first public appearance of the word “weekend” in Croatia and Yugoslavia, and therefore valid confirmation of emerging leisure practices that were new and bode well for future developments.

¹³ Rybczynski (1992, p. 149).

¹⁴ See Jones (1986, p. 15); Cross (1988, p. 5).

¹⁵ The National and University Library (*Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica*) in Zagreb contains only the 1932 issues. Created as a monthly, the magazine did not appear regularly. Hence ten issues were compressed into five volumes: 1, 2, 3–4, 5–9, and 10.

Nonetheless, the true weekend revolution had to wait until after the Second World War and the arrival of two new factors, i.e., the strong wave of modernization that included rapid urbanization and industrialization, and the predilection of socialist policy for a tourism-for-all concept. In this context the weekend was to become a precious period of time for various leisure activities, including a change of air and surroundings. To achieve this goal more easily, the United Trade Unions of Croatia (*Jedinstveni sindikati Hrvatske, JSH*) were involved in the promotion of excursions and excursion sites in the late 1940s. Officials were sent to inspect potential locations for outings.¹⁶ The preferred characteristics were the vicinity of towns, pleasant scenery, sports grounds, and a building large enough to hold social gatherings and general activities, especially in the case of sudden rain. In 1947, the socio-political department of the trade union concluded that volunteers would be the right solution for the rapid construction of excursion centers, and that “mass excursions” (*masovni izleti*) should be organized “as recreation.”¹⁷ The Head Committee of *JSH* admonished several branches that nothing had been done in their areas despite the fact that a specific amount of money had been allocated for the new workers’ excursion sites that were to “at least partly satisfy the desire of the workers to spend some free time in pleasant natural surroundings.”¹⁸ The warning had a serious undertone, since branches were also informed that members might well be told that their local officials had not done their best. In the following year, several excursion sites and workers’ holiday centers were under construction or undergoing alteration, and were soon to receive their first visitors.¹⁹

In the post-war years, groups of visitors took part in outings to *izletišta* by train, some by bike or on foot, and—due to the absence of alternative means—also in trucks, which were decorated with flags,

¹⁶ HDA VSSH 321, *Izveštaj Lakičević Vukašina po zadatku iznalaženja izletišta u Varaždinu i Čakovcu*, 1948.

¹⁷ HDA VSSH 307, *Zapisnik s radnog savjetovanja Socijalno-političkog odjela*, 17 December 1947.

¹⁸ HDA VSSH 307, Glavni odbor JSH, letters to the trade union councils in Slavonski Brod, Osijek and Karlovac, 3 December 1947.

¹⁹ HDA VSSH 379, *Dokumentacija o izgradnji i adaptaciji izletišta i radničkih odmarališta*, 1948.

red stars, and greenery on special occasions. As early as 1957, however, experts in tourism criticized the practice of loading masses of singing and smiling workers onto trucks: "We should, furthermore, avoid trips by truck; they are of little use and in most cases a drawback. This shipping of the masses is only necessary for assemblies or large public celebrations. Although a mere decade after the war, we have successfully set the masses in motion in a way that was hitherto unthinkable..."²⁰ Excursions of this kind were there to "educate our people" and train them in longer stays and summer holidays.²¹ The same article in *Turizam* referred to short weekly breaks as "weekends," albeit in brackets. Two years earlier the end of the working week had been similarly referred to when the same journal, somewhat amazed, reported on the English tourists who spent "Saturdays and Sundays (weekend)" in Italy, where they arrived in hydroplanes as part of a "clever" package tour.²²

During the same period, the song "Autobus Calypso," which promoted buses as a means of transport and the weekend as a time for leisure trips, became extremely popular and was presented at the second Opatija festival. The latter was inspired by the Italian San Remo Festival and held in 1959 in Opatija, a renowned resort on the East Istrian Coast and a tourist attraction since the mid-nineteenth century. As in San Remo, the song was performed twice: first by the internationally famous Ivo Robić and then by Marko Novosel; both were assisted by Beti Jurković. In a cheerful mode they sang about a couple planning to take a bus to the seaside on a weekend excursion.²³ The

²⁰ Filić (1957).

²¹ Ibid.

²² M.F. (1955).

²³ Kuntarić et al. (2007). The lyrics are as follows: "Požuri jer autobus već trubi, ni časak ne čeka on to znaš! Hajd', skoči i vrijeme sad ne gubi! Zar propast mora svaki vikend naš? Do mora će ravno nas odvesti, u divan i palma puni kraj. Uz prozor ću odmah lijepo sjesti, no prije brzo poljubac mi daj. Hej, autobus Calypso to je ljetni hobi moj, bar dok nemam još mali auto svoj. Ubaci vikend šator naš i kišobrane s njim, zatim torbu s provijantom svim. Požuri jer autobus već trubi i kupi još cigareta par. Tad vrijeme ne gubi, on ne čeka. Putovat s tobom to je strašna stvar. Stoj, stoj, bez nas će ostat šumica daleka! Ajoj, ajaj, gle ode, ode autobus nam taj! Ode, ode s njim i vikend moj! To je ajajaj i tu je kraj!"

couple prepare provisions, a tent, and some umbrellas. They dream of beaches and palm trees in faraway places, and of the car they will have one day. In the meantime, the bus has become their “summer hobby” and the husband looks forward to sitting at the window. The wife, however, is delayed buying last-minute items and the bus leaves without them. Plaintively the man asks: “Does every weekend have to fail?” Could it be that this song, with its energizing rhythm, was loaded with symbolism? Why was the couple late and why did they have to stay at home? Perhaps their weekend was sabotaged because they were pressed for time. It was too short for an excursion, especially by public transport. In 1959, lack of time did pose a challenge, since real weekends, either in the form of predominant habits and lifestyles or as a legal entitlement, were still a thing of the future.

The federal Labor Act of 1957 prescribed the forty-eight hour week, with six eight-hour working days and a compulsory break once a week (*tjedni odmor*).²⁴ The break itself was to last for at least thirty-two hours in succession and, as a rule, to include Sundays. This implied that everyone worked on Saturdays and was free in the afternoon only. Under these circumstances it was difficult to concentrate on a regular weekend tourist activity, as one day was not enough. Moreover, domestic obligations called for at least one day per week at home or close to home. The success or rather the influence of the exhibition organized by the Zagreb Tourist Association (*Turistički savez Zagreba*) entitled “Where to go on a trip” (*Kamo na izlet*) in 1962 can be called into question. It “treated the difficulties of active weekly breaks” and was only one of many different tourist promotional activities organized in the country that year.²⁵ Two years earlier the Zagreb Spring Fair had hosted the exhibition “Family and the household” (*Porodica i domaćinstvo*), with a section called “Us on holiday” (*Mi na odmoru*), which occupied 3,000 m² of floor space and also promoted weekends: “The section dealing with the weekly break illustrates excursion tourism as initiated by various social, sport, mountaineering, hunting,

²⁴ “Zakon o radnim odnosima,” *Službeni list (SL)* 53 (1957), articles 20, 165, and 231–5.

²⁵ HDA VSSH 1460, Turistički savez Hrvatske, *Informacija o aktivnosti TSH na području opće-turističke propagande u 1962. godini*, 1963.

and other organizations, and above all tourist societies.”²⁶ Regardless of their impact, these exhibitions were ahead of their time and, as such, had a clear promotional and motivating mission. They also prepared future weekenders for new legislative arrangements on labor and leisure.

The federal Labor Act of 1965 saw the introduction of the forty-two-hour week and longer periods of free time.²⁷ The forty-two hours were to be distributed over at least five days, and weekends of less than twenty-four hours in succession were not permitted. The federal parliament simultaneously passed the law introducing the forty-two-hour working week and granted a five-year transition period.²⁸ This amount of time was needed to reorganize the working process so that shorter working hours would not in any way damage productivity. In the mid-1960s, the average duration of the working week in European countries was between forty and forty-six hours.²⁹ The two Yugoslav laws meant five eight-hour working days per week plus two additional hours on one day per week, or five eight-hour working days plus one working Saturday per month. Later labor laws merely confirmed these regulations on the duration of the working week and weekends.³⁰ The day these laws were originally passed in parliament, i.e., 4 April 1965, could be termed the birthday of the weekend in socialist Yugoslavia.

The “working people” finally attained free Saturdays and Sundays, and were entitled to an almost real weekend. “Almost real” because many people still had to discover what to do with these two days, how to go about their leisure time. Help came from *Vjesnik*, the leading Croatian publisher of newspapers and magazines. It published a daily newspaper, and several weekly and monthly magazines covering areas such as television, music, film, fashion, and politics. Yet another mag-

²⁶ T.Z. (1960).

²⁷ “Osnovni zakon o radnim odnosima,” *SL* 17 (1965), articles 36, 55, 56, and 60.

²⁸ “Osnovni zakon o uvođenju 42-satne radne sedmice,” *SL* 17 (1965).

²⁹ See V.M. (1968).

³⁰ “Osnovni zakon o radnim odnosima,” *SL* 12 (1970), articles 37 and 62; “Zakon o međusobnim odnosima radnika u udruženom radu,” *SL* 22 (1973), articles 23 and 26; “Zakon o udruženom radu,” *SL* 53 (1976), articles 184 and 189.

azine was to appear in 1968 and wait for readers at the newspaper stands on May 31. Božidar Novak, director of *Vjesnik* at the time and an established journalist and editor, explained the context of the new publication: “The need for this weekly emerged when free Saturdays were introduced in the country. The new social phenomenon—two days of leisure—brought up the issue of how to make the most of this time.”³¹ The name of the magazine was *Vikend* and its first editor-in-chief was Ante Ungaro. Hence there were no more brackets or quotation marks and no more English expressions, with the exception of the phoneticized term that marked the naturalization of the concept of weekly leisure. The title of the magazine cancelled any doubts historians might have on reading Croatian sources from the 1950s and 1960s. Although the law of 1957 clearly and indeed correctly used the term *tjedni odmor* (“weekly break”), other sources occasionally referred to the weekend as *nedjeljni odmor*, a term that is open to two interpretations. Firstly, it means “Sunday break,” because Sunday (*nedjelja*) was the only day off and thus the sole opportunity for a full day’s rest during the week. Secondly, the term *nedjeljni odmor* indicates a Serbian linguistic influence, since *nedelja* means “week” in Serbian, and *nedeljni odmor* is the “weekly break.” Consequently, there are two possible reasons for the disappearance of the expression *nedjeljni odmor* from Croatian sources during the late 1960s, i.e., the legislation that extended the weekend to include Saturdays and linguistic disputes that reinforced the Croatian terminology. Nonetheless, in the sphere of everyday language, *Vikend* removed all shadow of doubt. The term weekend enjoyed widespread acceptance and the *vikend* was made.³²

³¹ Novak (2005, p. 582).

³² The word *vikend* was not listed in the multi-volume Croatian dictionary *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* of the Zagreb-based Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (now the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts), although the twentieth volume was not published until 1971–1972. Other dictionaries recognize the term, and its wide acceptance has been confirmed by derivatives such as *vikendaš* (“weekend tripper”) or *vikendica* (“weekend house, country house”).

Taking the Weekend

In the 1960s, Miro A. Mihovilović, founder of the sociology of leisure in Croatia, carried out some of the first sociological research on weekend leisure. The case study of Zagreb in 1967 revealed a somewhat unsatisfactory situation for the promoters of active breaks.³³ As many as 77 percent of adult interviewees did not indulge in active weekend leisure, 21 percent took weekend excursions, and only two percent pursued sport of some kind. The leisure inactive group, whose common denominator “stayed at home,” was active in other fields: the majority was busy with housekeeping (28 percent of the total number of interviewees), some had an extra job (12 percent), others went at least for a short walk (16 percent), and yet others simply relaxed (21 percent). As mentioned earlier, around a fifth of the population regularly left the city at the weekend: 11 percent of the total number of examinees took half-day trips and 10 percent embarked on day trips. There were, of course, class and/or occupational differences. For example, 48 percent of officials and managers went on weekend trips, whereas no more than 18 percent of skilled industrial workers did so. Housewives, unskilled workers, and pensioners showed the least amount of interest in trips at the weekend. The employees of transport companies were active excursionists as a result of discount prices, which led to 35 percent exiting the city at the weekend. A closer look at the motivation of the fifth of the population that went on regular trips reveals that enjoying nature was the most important factor for as many as 74 percent. Swimming and skiing came second, followed by visiting pubs and restaurants, hunting and fishing, enjoying the ride, mountaineering, and visiting relatives and friends. Almost two-thirds of the outings were family trips, the rest were undertaken individually

³³ See Mihovilović (1969, pp. 47–67). At the time, Zagreb was a fast-growing industrial centre with around 0.5 million inhabitants or 153,000 households. Economically, 46 percent of households were characterized as blue-collar, 31 percent as white-collar and 14 percent as tradesmen households. In as many as 61 percent of households, both founders were immigrants, in 16 percent one of the founders was an immigrant, and in 23 percent both founders were born in Zagreb. More than 50 percent of the immigrants came from villages in the rural areas.

with friends. Nevertheless, why did the majority stay in the city? The most common reasons were housekeeping (32 percent) and lack of finance (31 percent). Thirteen per cent stated that they did not feel the need to go away for a weekend. They enjoyed staying in the city and felt happiest at home. A survey in 1970 produced more positive results.³⁴ Again, one in five families went on weekend trips, while in 14 percent of families only some members went away. One in three families still spent the entire weekend at home.

Regardless of how precise these figures may be, they give no indication of the thoughts and feelings of weekenders and non-weekenders. Fortunately, there are narratives from the same period that confirm the emergence of a new leisure culture and the associated problems. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the weekly *Vikend* asked readers to send short statements in answer to specific leisure questions such as: “How do you relax; how do you have fun?” (*Kako se odmarate, kako se zabavljate*) in 1969, and “What does the word weekend mean to you?” (*Što za vas znači riječ vikend?*) in 1972–1973. Topics remained open for several weeks or even months, and readers’ comments were published week after week on the first page of the magazine. What type of weekend do these narratives reveal? Although those who wrote to the magazine were also *Vikend* readers, thus confirming their interest in the new leisure practices, they did not necessarily share the same opinion on the weekend. The narratives can be divided into two main groups: first of all, readers who looked forward to the weekend and were happy to spend them actively; secondly, readers who—for various reasons—did not participate in the new fashion. There were, of course, variations and grey areas.

Positive accounts written by genuinely active weekenders were not as common as could have been expected from *Vikend* readers, but perhaps frequent enough for the early stages of weekend history. Ivanka Kraljić from Rijeka found the natural surroundings enjoyable: “The weekend is an oxygen infusion for my smog-poisoned blood.”³⁵ Željko Tutnjević from Našice wrote: “Weekend means fishing, mountaineering and dancing.”³⁶ Vera Tulin from Lovran needed to be on the

³⁴ See Rihtman-Auguštin (1988, pp. 91–2).

³⁵ “Što za vas znači riječ vikend?” *Vikend* 239 (1972).

³⁶ “Što za vas znači riječ vikend?” *Vikend*, 237 (1972).

move: "Weekend means walking, walking..."³⁷ A number of readers travelled to visit parents and relatives rather than for leisure, usually to where they originally came from. One of them was Ljubica Bunčić, who worked in Zagreb but longed to return home: "I live in a new environment far from home. Sunday brings great pleasure because that's the only day I can visit my parents and spend at least a couple of hours in my beloved Kordun."³⁸

Both the aforementioned sociological research results and readers' comments are in agreement that the family environment was a priority at weekends. Children travelled to see their parents, grandparents to visit their grandchildren, family members went on trips together or simply enjoyed each other's company. Hence Zvonko Jančiev from Zagreb wrote in his letter to the magazine: "The best weekend is when I spend two peaceful days with my family."³⁹ Zdravko Vuković, also from Zagreb, liked taking his family out of the city: "Saturday is the unique chance to go to the market (as many men do today). On Sundays we go to the outskirts of Zagreb and have a barbecue."⁴⁰ However, men buying groceries for the family at the vegetable market was an exception rather than the rule. Low male participation in other domestic duties led to the dissatisfaction of wives with weekend leisure, especially when both partners were employed.⁴¹ The *Vikend* magazine published a number of gender-sensitive narratives of Croatian female readers, who spoke bitterly of the housekeeping and other domestic tasks they were unable to escape. Vjera Franić from Zagreb was not as enamored of the market as her fellow citizens: "Weekend means bargaining at the vegetable market, quarrelling with the butchers, doing the laundry, bathing, patching, ironing, and tidying up the flat."⁴² Ljubica Kroupa from Kutina seemed just as annoyed: "Weekend is a word full of contrast. For women it means work from morning till night, for their husbands it's leisure and fun." Đurđica Popović from Novska wrote:

³⁷ "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend*, 242 (1973).

³⁸ "Kako se odmarate, kako se zabavljate," *Vikend* 66 (1969).

³⁹ "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 238 (1972).

⁴⁰ "Kako se odmarate, kako se zabavljate" *Vikend* 58 (1969).

⁴¹ Approximately 40 percent of Croatian women were employed at the time.

On women's history in socialism, see, e.g., Dijanić et al. (2004).

⁴² "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 237 (1972).

"Only at weekends do I really know what it means to be a woman."⁴³ Irena Šulc from Osijek struggled to manage a free Sunday: "I have almost no time for myself. I'm a clerk, a mother, a wife, and a daughter who takes care of her sick parents. On Sundays, however, I 'steal' some time and have a break out in the country."⁴⁴ Zdenka Kožina from Zagreb managed to find a balance between tidying up and having fun: "On Saturdays I do the housekeeping. On Sundays I go to Mokrice with my daughter, where we have fun horse-riding."⁴⁵

Apart from the women who were busy at work and at home, there were other groups who may well have desired to be part of a leisure culture but were not in a position to do so. Pero Matijević from Požega claimed he had no opportunity to enjoy a weekend: "What is that? There is no such word in the life of a farmer, and I'm a farmer."⁴⁶ Marija Mazal from Vrbovec simply declared: "A weekend is something unreal for my family."⁴⁷ Juraj Šoštarec from Zagreb needed more money than he could earn as a car mechanic at his regular job and therefore rarely went on leisure trips: "You know how things are. I'm moonlighting, I earn some money, and occasionally I go to Turropolje on Sundays. That's it!"⁴⁸

On the other hand, there were those whose working week was so long that they constantly yearned for the weekend. Goran Medanić from Beli Manastir was one of them: "It's the word I pronounce most frequently during the week."⁴⁹ Dubravka Hajduk from Zagreb wrote: "Weekend means having a break from school and the teachers."⁵⁰ Mirjana Lipotić from Kruševo near Obrovac was looking forward to the days off: "The word weekend really means a lot to me as a girl and as a factory worker."⁵¹ It could not have meant more to Marijan Tomac from Zagreb: "The weekend is balsam for the wounds inflicted during

43 "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 243 (1973).

44 "Kako se odmarate, kako se zabavljate," *Vikend* 62 (1969).

45 "Kako se odmarate, kako se zabavljate," *Vikend* 59 (1969).

46 "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 242 (1973).

47 "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 238 (1972).

48 "Kako se odmarate, kako se zabavljate," *Vikend* 68 (1969).

49 "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 237 (1972).

50 "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 238 (1972).

51 "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 242 (1973).

the working week.”⁵² In order to achieve this effect, citizens, now transformed into weekenders, endeavored to do something completely different than on working days. Zlata Cesarec from Zagreb read and listened to music: “I enjoy the relaxation of Sunday mornings when I sit in a deckchair in the garden with a book and a transistor radio.”⁵³ Ivica Vucelja from Split was given permission from his wife to be uninhibited: “The word ‘weekend’ means the time my wife allows me to have more than a glass.”⁵⁴ Probably exhausted by the working week, Ivica Hermešec from Sesvete did not participate in any kind of active weekend leisure, but—similar to others who stayed at home and simply watched television—he found what suited him best: “The weekend is when I park my kilos on the sofa.”⁵⁵ He did not disclose whether he was married or whether his wife did the same.

In 1973, the Institute for the Economics of Tourism (*Institut za ekonomiku turizma*) and the Institute for Market Research (*Zavod za tržišna istraživanja*), both based in Zagreb, conducted a broad survey of tourism, the results of which indicated that as many as 84 percent of Yugoslavs did not take part in two-day or longer excursions, and that 64 percent had never gone on a day trip.⁵⁶ Between April and June 1976, i.e., in spring, the ideal time for excursions, 70 percent of Yugoslavs took neither a day nor a half-day trip.⁵⁷ The opposite extremes emerged in Slovenia with 53 percent and Vojvodina with 80 percent of interviewees who had never been on a half-day trip; again, 51 percent of interviewees in Slovenia and 85 percent in Vojvodina had never been on a day trip. Research also indicated that the stratum with higher incomes and a good education was more mobile. Market research was not only interested in excursions, but in the broadest sense, how leisure time was spent. In 1979, 67 percent of Yugoslavs selected watching television and listening to music as their favorite leisure activities.⁵⁸ These

⁵² “Što za vas znači riječ vikend?” *Vikend* 237 (1972).

⁵³ “Kako se odmarate, kako se zabavljate,” *Vikend* 64 (1969).

⁵⁴ “Što za vas znači riječ vikend?” *Vikend* 240 (1972).

⁵⁵ “Što za vas znači riječ vikend?” *Vikend* 243 (1973).

⁵⁶ See Hitrec (1975). See also Vukičević (1981).

⁵⁷ See “Izleti,” *Tržišne informacije* 3 (1977), 52–4.

⁵⁸ See “Uobičajeni načini provođenja slobodnog vremena,” *Tržišne informacije* 1–2 (1979), 50–1.

were followed by reading the newspaper, walks and trips, reading, shopping, going to the cinema or the theatre, attending sports matches, and engaging in sports.

A long weekend made up of Saturday, Sunday, and a national holiday was a real treat. Public holidays amounted to a total of eight days off: New Year was celebrated on 1–2 January, May Day on 1–2 May, Fighter's Day on 4 July, and Republic Day on 29–30 November. Additionally each republic had its own national insurrection day. If a public holiday fell on a Sunday, the following Monday was free. Public holidays and weekends frequently meant four days off in succession, sometimes even more when a Monday or Friday in between formed a bridge. Marika Prodan from Pula expressed enthusiasm for these combinations and wrote to *Vikend*: "I look forward to national holidays. That is a real weekend for me because three or four days off are like having an annual break! My husband, my son, and I visit at least two republics by car."⁵⁹ Families like Marika's would be among the 20 percent of the Yugoslav population that travelled during the May Day break in the late 1970s, among the 18 percent that went on trips on Republic Day and the attached weekend, and among the 12 percent that went away for the New Year.⁶⁰ Here, as in the case of regular weekends, the surveys again indicated that the vast majority stayed at home.

The appearance of *Vikend* did not stop trade union activities or alter the concerns of tourism experts about domestic excursionist tourism. A number of workers' holiday centers (*radničko odmaralište*) with sport and recreation facilities were built fairly close to workers' permanent residence, allowing the latter to use them at weekends and not merely in the summer holidays.⁶¹ Factories or companies with active organizers boasted far more day trips for those in urgent need of relaxation. As a rule, workers were pleased to participate in these short recreation programs. Since 1967, the trade union council of Zagreb had been organizing group excursions over the long weekend around 1 May, known as the May Day caravan. In 1974, between four and five

⁵⁹ "Kako se odmarate, kako se zabavljate," *Vikend* 68 (1969).

⁶⁰ See, e.g., "Mjesto provođenja prvomajskih praznika 1976. i odmora," *Tržišne informacije* 2 (1976), 55–8; "Provođenje praznika 1977., 1978. i 1979. godine—SFRJ," *Tržišne informacije* 4 (1979), p. 37.

⁶¹ See, e.g., "Uskoro odluka o gradnji odmarališta," *Radničke novine*, 29 August 1975.

thousand workers spent five days “in the best facilities of our most popular tourist centers,” once the trade unions had realized that workers would be more in favor of a “well-organized, attractive trip” than a “fruitless, abstract ‘struggle’ for the rights of their members.”⁶² On Republic Day in 1985, the Zagreb *USIZOR* (*Udružena samoupravna interesna zajednica za odmor i rekreaciju*, United self-management association for rest and recreation) booked seven buses to take almost four hundred workers on a long weekend to Opatija, and some one hundred to Split.⁶³ They engaged in sport, went dancing in the evenings, and had a great deal of fun together. On the other hand, workers like Ivka Tomašević, who was employed in Varteks Varaždin textile industry for twenty-eight years and raised two children, were unable to participate in organized leisure activities: “Every morning I get up at 4.30 and always come to work 15 minutes in advance. [...] I have to do the housekeeping and the laundry, I usually do all that on a free Saturday. [...] Much as I’d like to find some time for myself, I’m really tired, and when I sit in front of the TV, I’m almost asleep.”⁶⁴ The purpose of the weekend was to relax and reproduce the necessary energy to perform well, a concept that did not function successfully in the mindset of the workers, who—for the sake of tradition, their parents, or low family budgets—were still agriculturists: “They have some land and practice agriculture. So, when the free Saturday comes, they use it to work in the village, you know that already.”⁶⁵

However, workers who were also weekend peasants were no longer a huge concern of tourism forums in the 1970s and 1980s. The experts now concentrated on warnings of unhealthy conditions in the cities and the disadvantages of the urban lifestyle. They persisted with explanations about the beneficial effects of short visits to unspoiled natural environments and to the villages, in the hope that rural tourism would also improve the living conditions of the villagers.⁶⁶ *Turizam*, the leading tourism journal, gave accounts of cozy restaurants with originality,

⁶² “Velike male stvari,” *Radničke novine*, 19 April 1974.

⁶³ “Aranžmani s oglasne ploče,” *Radničke novine*, 9 December 1985.

⁶⁴ “Kulturni život radnika zahtijeva mnogo više organiziranosti (Raport iz kombinata Varteks, Varaždin),” *Kulturni radnik* 2 (1970), 55–6.

⁶⁵ Statement by worker Ruda Matoković in *ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁶ “Odmor i rekreacija gradskog stanovništva i turističke mogućnosti naših sela,” *Turizam* 9 (1971), 12–5.

good food, music, children's playgrounds, fresh air, and magnificent scenery where "anyone who is not bed-ridden or ill can be a day tripper."⁶⁷ Appetites were whetted with descriptions of the "pleasant atmosphere of the restaurant's shady garden and beautifully designed dining hall, the aroma of cooked food, or the sight of a lamb or a pig being barbecued on a spit."⁶⁸ Barbecues were indeed very popular and smiling faces around the fire even made it onto the covers of *Vikend* magazine.

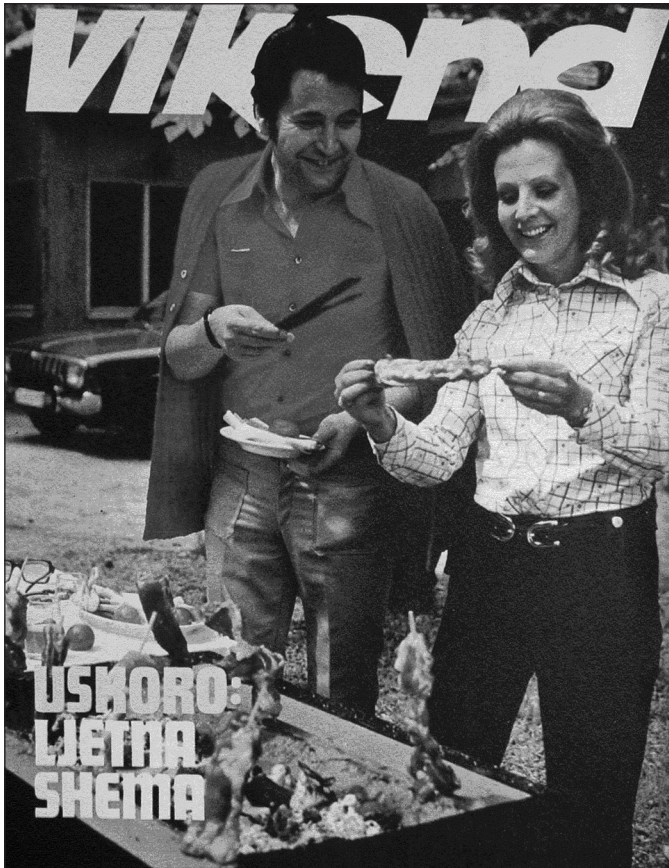


Figure 2. TV celebrities having a barbecue (*Vikend*, 1976)

⁶⁷ Sagrak (1976).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

In 1981, instead of focusing on leisure in general, the Institute for Market Research organized a survey that produced results on the weekend leisure of the adult working population of Yugoslavia.⁶⁹ Reading, watching television, housekeeping, and socializing were still the most common weekend activities. One in four interviewees enjoyed weekends passively, i.e., sleeping in, taking an afternoon nap, or—to quote the *Vikend* reader mentioned above—parking themselves on the sofa. Weekend passivity was frequently connected to lack of financial resources, and despite decades of tourist propaganda, 15 percent still did not feel the need to get away.⁷⁰ As late as 1984, no more than 37 percent of Yugoslavs felt the need to go for a walk or take a trip to the countryside.⁷¹ Although this indicated an increase from the 1960s and 1970s, it was by no means proof of a spectacular weekend-tourist revolution in Yugoslavia in the meantime. The majority was still immobile. Bosnia and Herzegovina (35 percent), Serbia (32 percent), Croatia (31 percent), Macedonia (29 percent) and Montenegro (17 percent) were all below the federal average. Nevertheless, with 62 percent Slovenia held the top position and was genuinely a nation of walkers and trippers.

Vikend Weekend Trips

From the very beginning the *Vikend* magazine was a vital source of knowledge for tourists, with its vast fund of information on where to go and how to travel. The section “Weekend tourist info” (*Vikendove turističke informacije*) gave practical advice and a calendar of events. The articles in the series “Weekend travels without money or a passport” (*Vikendova putovanja bez pasoša i novaca*) or “The weekend globe” (*Globus na vikendu*) allowed readers to imagine the splendor of far-flung destinations, without even leaving their homes.

Active weekenders were able to choose between different modes of transport. As early as 1968, the magazine published dozens of articles and advertisements by the Zagreb branch of Yugoslav Railways (*Žel-*

⁶⁹ See Sirotić (1981).

⁷⁰ See Milekić (1982).

⁷¹ Sabol (1985).

jezničko transportno poduzeće Zagreb).⁷² The title of the campaign was “Travel in comfort by train” (*Putujte udobno željeznicom*) and its goal to attract more passengers, since road traffic had begun to seriously threaten the railways in the course of the 1960s. Between 1960 and 1968 the number of road passengers in Croatia increased dramatically from 29 to 112.5 million, the number of air passengers from 0.1 to 0.8 million, while maritime transport reported a decrease from 9.5 to 7.4 million. The railways lost four million passengers, declining from 62.6 to 58.7 million.⁷³ *Vikend* magazine was therefore the perfect instrument for railway promotion. The point of departure was usually Zagreb, which had connections to Karlovac, Rijeka, Zadar, Split, Pula, and Sisak in Croatia, Ljubljana and Maribor in Slovenia, Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Belgrade and Novi Sad in Serbia, while international express trains left for Paris, Munich, Athens, and Istanbul.⁷⁴ Although not all of these cities were suitable for short trips, some were indeed promoted as weekend destinations. The new Kvarner express train meant that Zagreb and Rijeka were a mere three and a half hours away, allowing people to “get to Rijeka, get something done, have a swim, enjoy the sea air and the sun, and return comfortably to Zagreb on the same day.”⁷⁵ Money was most probably the only obstacle to this scenario, since the round ticket cost 39.20 dinars. With an average monthly salary of 904 dinars, some people were able to afford these train trips on occasion, but not families with several children, particularly where half the average household budget was spent on food, leaving a mere 2.4 percent for trips and travelling.⁷⁶ Since Split was seven hours away from Zagreb, trippers needed more than a day. The Marjan express enabled them to stay in the city and the surrounding areas from Saturday afternoon until Sunday afternoon: “In this way Split moved closer to Zagreb and entered the list of attractive tourist resorts for an unforgettable weekend.”⁷⁷ Similar weekend city breaks were associated with express trains to other destinations; local

⁷² See Duda (2002, p. 665).

⁷³ *Statistički godišnjak Hrvatske: 1971* (pp. 134–42).

⁷⁴ “Odlazak i dolazak vlakova u Zagreb Glavni kolodvor,” *Vikend* 1 (1968).

⁷⁵ “Novosti u željezničkom saobraćaju,” *Vikend* 3 (1968).

⁷⁶ See Mihovilović (1969, p. 40).

⁷⁷ “Novosti u željezničkom saobraćaju,” *Vikend* 3 (1968).

trains that stopped at nearby spas or other nature spots were also promoted.

A decade later the railway was the only mode of transport that still showed negative trends in terms of passenger numbers. In 1979, trains in Croatia transported 45.3 million passengers, while buses boasted as many as 155.8 million; the ports registered 15.6 million and airports 4 million passengers.⁷⁸ In the same year the *Vikend* pages were filled with another advertising campaign for tourism. This time the articles and advertisements encouraged readers to fly. The magazine and the Yugoslav airline JAT joined in the campaign known as “Vikend weekends with the JAT airlift” (*Vikendovi vikendi s JAT-ovim airliftom*).



Figure 3. JAT flights on Republic Day (Vikend, 1980)

⁷⁸ *Statistički godišnjak Hrvatske: 1985* (pp. 181–91).

Between 1979 and 1982, a dozen international destinations were promoted: Tunisia, Cairo, Madrid, Athens, Berlin, Rome, Malta, London, Prague, Amsterdam, New York, and even China. Regardless of the destination, in terms of distance, price, and duration these trips constituted a different category to the simple weekend trip. The first group of sixty tourists spent a full week in Tunisia. They saw the sights, enjoyed the African sun and autumn swimming, shopped for souvenirs and other cheap goods, and spent an exciting night in a bar with a belly dance performance.⁷⁹ Four days in Athens and its surroundings during the winter school break in January 1980 bore a greater resemblance to a long weekend and cost 3,520 dinars, or half the average monthly salary.⁸⁰ This was still a considerable amount of money, taking into account that approximately 40 percent of the household budget was spent on food.⁸¹ One year later younger travelers were invited to spend a week in London:

Ten years ago the Beatles sang "Let me take you down, 'cause I'm going to Strawberry Fields," the song with which they invited thousands of young people from all over the world to come to England, the land of pop and of hippies, but also of tradition. They came in jeans and backpacks, earned a penny picking strawberries, and then went off to London.⁸²

The advertised package deal at a cost of 5,999 dinars aimed at introducing the young to the pleasures of tourism, without the hard work. The amount seemed consumer-friendly, almost as if it had been designed by a marketing expert. But equivalent to two-thirds of the average salary, it was unlikely to cause a wave of mass tourism. However, no less than six months after the first trip to Tunisia, the JAT weekend airlift celebrated its thousandth passenger.⁸³ At the turn of the decade around 16 percent of Yugoslavs travelled abroad, with Slovenes and Croats heading the list.⁸⁴ Only a small minority travelled by plane.

⁷⁹ "Nezaboravni izlet," *Vikend* 600 (1979).

⁸⁰ "Za vrijeme školskih praznika: Na programu Tunis, Kairo, Madrid i Atena," *Vikend* 605 (1979).

⁸¹ *Statistički godišnjak Hrvatske: 1985* (p. 252).

⁸² "London za mlade," *Vikend* 661 (1981).

⁸³ "Očekujemo hiljaditog putnika," *Vikend* 627 (1980).

⁸⁴ Gjukić-Srdar (1981).

This was the group able to afford a long weekend in New York and return home with new Samsonite bags and the latest Walkman.⁸⁵

The *Vikend* readers who remained down to earth normally travelled by bus or by car. *Vikend* provided them with ample reading material. In the early 1970s, a series called “The Vikend practical guide abroad” (*Vikendov praktični inozemni vodič*) presented Venice, Trieste, Graz, Budapest, Warsaw, and Prague. The two-page description of Venice included information on low-price accommodation, restaurants, and public transport. The idea was to show Venice as a destination not merely for the prosperous tourist, but for “Yugoslavs who would love to spend several days in Venice if they knew where to stay and to eat.”⁸⁶ In the mid-1970s, the series “Motoring weekend on four wheels” (*Moto-vikend na četiri kotača*) suggested road trips to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Italy, France, and Germany. These somewhat romantic itineraries focused on cultural heritage, castles, and museums. The road map designed for the trip to Slovakia and Moravia suggested ten stops between Bratislava and Brno, all of them renowned historical sites.⁸⁷

Yugoslav destinations were presented in a series known as “Where to take a trip” (*Kamo na izlet*). These one-page articles became an institution and appeared virtually every weekend from 1968 to 1988. By 1987, the series had recommended a total of one thousand different excursions, although several destinations were repeated over the years: “Issue after issue we travelled together to cities and villages, river valleys, lakesides, across mountains, down the Adriatic coast, and to beautiful islands. Those were our suggestions for trips and travels, occasionally linked to anniversaries, performances, sport and cultural events.”⁸⁸ A year later, on the twentieth anniversary, the editors of the series repeated the very first itinerary to Hrvatsko Zagorje in 1968, tracking the changes that had occurred in the meantime in “the magnificent valley of Tito’s childhood, a valley that has remained just as charming and attractive, and so dear to all of us.”⁸⁹ These lines from

⁸⁵ “Vikendaši u New Yorku,” *Vikend* 711 (1982).

⁸⁶ “Sa pet dolara dnevno u—Veneciji,” *Vikend* 112 (1970).

⁸⁷ “Od Bratislave do Brna,” *Vikend* 384 (1975).

⁸⁸ “Tisuću Vikendovih izleta,” *Vikend* 1000 (1987).

⁸⁹ “Od Zagreba do Sutle,” *Vikend* 1044 (1988).

the two anniversary articles hint at the character of the excursions. The principal topics were nature, culture, and socialism. Some excursions had one particular goal, others combined all three themes with tourist attractions.

The nature itineraries informed readers about national parks, exhilarating walks and outstanding scenery. One of the many articles on the Plitvice Lakes in Croatia targeted trippers who had never been there before and only had a day to spend in this “abundance of beauty.”⁹⁰ Kornati Islands were presented as “one of the most impressive landscapes of the Adriatic” and a perfect destination for adventurers and “modern Robinsons.”⁹¹ Closely connected to this group were the articles on tourism in ski resorts and on the Adriatic coast. Bled in Slovenia was an excellent location for winter sports with hotels that contained gyms and swimming pools, while the resort in Jahorina Mountain in Bosnia and Herzegovina attracted numerous skiers with its splendid facilities, set up on the occasion of the Olympic Games in Sarajevo.⁹² The presentation of Adriatic towns was often a combination of nature and culture. Visitors to the island of Hvar were invited to enjoy the sun and stay in one of the many new hotels, but also advised to see the cultural sights, and take a trip down the roads surrounded by vineyards, olive groves, and lavender.⁹³

Readers with a specific cultural interest were recommended to visit heritage sites from various periods in history or the well-known festivals that promoted either folk traditions or high culture. History and culture were the chief motivation for weekends in Zagreb, Belgrade, or other large cities.⁹⁴ For weekenders who visited Vukovar in east Croatia, the prehistoric findings of Vučedol were obligatory.⁹⁵ For visitors to Split, for example during the Mediterranean Games held in 1979, the city centre located in the ancient Diocletian’s palace was not

⁹⁰ “Plitvice viđene u jednom danu,” *Vikend* 127 (1970).

⁹¹ “Kornati—netaknuta priroda,” *Vikend* 267 (1973).

⁹² “Bledske zimske radosti,” *Vikend* 554 (1979); “Bijela ljepotica Jahorina,” *Vikend* 767 (1983).

⁹³ “Hvar—oaza sunca,” *Vikend* 184 (1971).

⁹⁴ “Zagrebačkim Gornjim gradom,” *Vikend* 883 (1985); “Beogradska svibanjska šetnja,” *Vikend* 884 (1985).

⁹⁵ “Vukovar na Dunavu,” *Vikend* 410 (1976).

to be missed.⁹⁶ One of the reasons for visiting inland Dalmatia in the summer was the Sinjska Alka Knights' Tournament in Sinj, while each spring the mountain region of Gorski Kotar in central Croatia hosted the Annual Poets' Manifestation in memory of the poet Ivan Goran Kovačić.⁹⁷ A trip to northern Istria was an interesting combination of Croatian medieval glagolitic heritage and the history of the local partisan movement during the Second World War.⁹⁸

The sites of the Second World War and socialist ideology were usually promoted on national holidays and round anniversaries. Tito's eighty-fifth birthday and the thirtieth anniversary of his party presidency were celebrated in 1977, which prompted the *Vikend* magazine to present a series of tourist trips to the "places in our country where Tito worked and established himself as a revolutionary and a leader."⁹⁹ There were also series about trips to towns named after Tito, to locations of key party meetings or famous battles. The town of Jajce in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the Democratic Federative Yugoslavia was proclaimed in 1943, was a typical destination for trips in November on the occasion of Republic Day.¹⁰⁰ The trip to the island of Vis, where the partisan leadership had its headquarters in 1943–1944, was repeated several times over the years: "Splendid scenery and numerous monuments and memories of the glorious days of our national liberation war await you on one of the most magnificent Dalmatian islands."¹⁰¹

In order to promote the culture of travel, *Vikend* magazine and the "Sunny Hour" (*Sunčani sat*) show on Radio Zagreb's second channel, in accordance with the Tourism Association of Croatia (*Turistički savez Hrvatske*), founded the Trippers Club (*Klub izletnika*) in 1973.¹⁰² The

⁹⁶ "Nima Splita do Splita," *Vikend* 584 (1979); "Ljetna šetnja Dioklecijanovom palačom," *Vikend* 950 (1986).

⁹⁷ "258. Sinjska alka," *Vikend* 271 (1973); "Goranovo proljeće," *Vikend* 198 (1972).

⁹⁸ "Bužeština—stazama glagoljaša i partizana," *Vikend* 536 (1978).

⁹⁹ "Kumrovec—stazom djetinjstva Josipa Broza," *Vikend* 453 (1977).

¹⁰⁰ "Rođendanska noć Republike," *Vikend* 496 (1977).

¹⁰¹ "Slobodarski Vis," *Vikend* 590 (1979).

¹⁰² "Klub izletnika—šansa za ljubitelje prirode," *Vikend* 305 (1974); "Ljubitelji izleta—na okup," *Vikend* 306 (1974); "Klub izletnika—otvoren!" *Vikend* 307 (1974); "Velika izletnička obitelj," *Vikend* 565 (1979).



Figure 4. *Weekend car rally (Vikend, 1972)*

trippers gathered under the slogan “Let’s get to know each other better; let’s establish excursionism as the need of the working people.” Five years later the club had 2,352 members, all of whom participated in group excursions, travel, and accommodation at reduced prices, and generally had tremendous fun while travelling in Yugoslavia and abroad. However, the main target group of the series “Where to take a trip” was individual tourists. Since the majority of itineraries were planned

as road trips, it would have been difficult to accomplish the entire tour without a car. Hence having a car became a decisive factor of weekend mobility: travel was now independent and not confined by public transport routes and time schedules. Since thousands of road trippers were about to find themselves in new environments for the first time, simple road maps often accompanied the articles in the *Vikend* series to facilitate orientation. Any doubts they might have had on safe driving were resolved by “Driver Matija” in the section for motorized readers, yet another *Vikend* tradition. Week after week Matija gave advice on engines, spare parts, driving skills, road conditions, accident procedures, and driving behavior. Motorized readers were annually invited by the magazine to take part in the May Day or Republic Day rallies.

Several hundred trippers gathered for these demonstrations and left Zagreb for various seaside resorts. Racing was not the purpose of these rallies, but to drive in groups and spend several days in hotels on the Adriatic coast.

The increase in car owners meant an increase in the motorized *Vikend* readers who embraced the new lifestyle of driving and tripping. In the 1970s, the motorization of Yugoslavia gathered momentum. A comparison of statistical data on car ownership and total population figures shows that there were 238 Yugoslavs per car in 1961, 24 in 1971, nine in 1981 and, finally, seven people per car by the end of the 1980s.¹⁰³ In other words, there were never enough car seats for the whole population. It also means that only one in ten families had a car when *Vikend* launched their promotion for weekend excursions. However, as in other fields, huge regional differences existed, with Slovenia and Croatia again above the federal average. In 1981, for example, there were four Slovenians and seven Croatians per car in their respective republics. The remaining figures were as follows: Serbia eight (Vojvodina seven, Kosovo 23), Macedonia 11, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro 12. Not everyone participated in the new-fashioned weekend road trips to the same degree. The automobile industry in Serbia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina was strong, and had licensed contracts with Fiat, Renault, Citroën, and Volkswagen. Hav-

¹⁰³ *Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije (SGJ)*, for the relevant years.

ing a car was important. Even the act of purchasing one was a source of great joy, and for many drivers taking care of their car became a novelty weekend hobby. As early as 1971, *Vikend* reader Đuro Paska from Rijeka was clear about his favorite pastime: "The best thing is to have a car and take trips with the family."¹⁰⁴ Marija Gila from Zagreb was a passionate driver: "The weekend means waking up at dawn, checking my Škoda, and driving to an unknown destination."¹⁰⁵ These readers seemed to represent an ideal reaction to the vast amount of encouragement provided by the *Vikend* editors, who with the American "joy of mobility," weekending and holidaymaking, set an example to their readers, otherwise known as the "working people."¹⁰⁶ The "people" read the magazine and—true to proper consumer fashion—got into their cars or bought tickets for a trip. Some even flew to other continents, although the magazine continued to refer to them as weekenders.

Weekenders: Happy Consumers, Refreshed Workers, and Good Citizens

The circulation of *Vikend* magazine peaked in 1983 when 160,000 copies per issue were printed and 135,000 sold in Croatia and across Yugoslavia.¹⁰⁷ Its international edition was distributed to European countries where Yugoslavs were employed. Large circulation numbers seem to speak in favor of *Vikend*'s role, not only in witnessing but also in shaping weekly breaks. The weekend was the *leitmotif* of the magazine. Editors and authors advised readers what to do, what to listen to, how to act, what to read, how to remain safe outdoors, what to wear, and what weather forecasts and astrology had to say about the approaching weekend.

¹⁰⁴ "Najljepše, najdraže," *Vikend* 150 (1971).

¹⁰⁵ "Što za vas znači riječ vikend?" *Vikend* 240 (1972).

¹⁰⁶ From December 1979 to February 1980 *Vikend* published a series of articles on leisure in the United States entitled "A trip into American leisure" (*Izlet u američku dokolicu*).

¹⁰⁷ Novak (2005, p. 795). All other Vjesnik editions had similar or larger circulations. In the same year, the total circulation of newspapers and magazines printed in Croatia reached 340 million (*SGH*).

According to market surveys in the late 1970s, 20 percent of Yugoslavs named shopping as their leisure activity.¹⁰⁸ By that time consumer culture was already well-established and the authorities could not and did not want to do anything to prevent its advancement. On the contrary, everyone was entitled to personal happiness, and happy citizens should be able to enjoy a certain standard of living. Hence greater quality of life included well-stocked shops and tasty restaurant food, as well as the right to enjoy nature at the weekends and on holidays. Consumerism and tourism were interrelated. Socialism was in-between. It is thus little wonder that the destination of very first *Vikend* trip in 1968 was Hrvatsko Zagorje, and included Tito's birth house in Kumrovec, as well as "spas and swimming pools," "modern restaurants," and "good hotels and inns."¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, *Vikend* excursion tips included such diverse locations as the early medieval Croatian church in Nin near Zadar, the Second World War battlefield by the river Neretva in Herzegovina, and the department stores of New York. These highly diverse destinations covered tourism and fun, but also reflected national identities combined with supra-national and socialist elements.

In the early 1980s, the older workers began to miss the warm atmosphere and comradeship they were accustomed to at work: "People say: where are the organizers, why aren't they doing something. There are no cultural events, no trips, nothing. [...] We used to have cultural trips, we were in Kumrovec [...] There were day trips that people accepted and wanted [...] they visited cultural monuments."¹¹⁰ In an effort to explain the new circumstances, managers declared that enthusiasm could not be exploited indefinitely, that open trucks were history and that everyone had become used to more comfort: "I think that alienation comes from the development of consumer society. [...] Today we sit on our four wheels and go somewhere at the weekend with our family, if they manage to get together. It is very hard to achieve togetherness now, and I think the rising standard of living is the reason."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ On Yugoslav consumer culture, see, e.g., Patterson (2003); Luthar (2006); and Duda (2005).

¹⁰⁹ "Od Zagreba do Sutle," *Vikend* 1 (1968).

¹¹⁰ Statement by animator Zora Pavleković, in Kraš Zagreb (1981).

¹¹¹ Statement by Zlatko Šimunović, investments director, in Kraš Zagreb, in *ibid.*, pp. 117–8.

The *Vikend* magazine and weekend culture were both initiators and products of the above-mentioned developments in the quality of life. Leisure as an element of a free, self-managed working process was a socialist ideal. In practice, however, leisure was still perceived as the antithesis of work. If the working week was the time to earn money and secure the right to free time, weekends were plainly the time to consume, to spend both free time and money. The weekend was legally regulated in 1965 and *Vikend*, first published in 1968, enjoyed a steadily growing circulation. Although the magazine was not read in every single household and the legal weekend entitlement was not in itself proof of widespread acceptance of the new leisure habits, the years 1965 to 1968 were a watershed that clearly marked the end of prehistory and the beginning of the history of the weekend. The weekend was finally made and there for the taking. It was a vast opportunity for both consumer happiness and worker refreshment. While enjoying the role of weekend trippers, all good citizens knew it was their duty to show up punctually every Monday morning and contribute to new labor victories.

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Yugoslav Unity and Olympic Ideology at the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games¹

Kate Meehan Pedrotty

On 8 February 1984, a sellout crowd of fifty thousand spectators filled Sarajevo's Koševo Stadium for the opening ceremony of the XIVth Winter Olympic Games, during which they were entertained by gymnasts, folk dancers, and members of the Yugoslav People's Army band.² On the same day, the Museum of the XIVth Winter Olympic Games officially opened at 7 Nikola Tesla in Sarajevo, in the presence of International Olympic Committee (IOC) President Juan Antonio Samaranch.³ These events marked the culmination of years of negotiation, planning, construction, and marketing on the part of local, republican, and federal officials in Yugoslavia, and both the Olympic museum and the Games themselves were intended to be at the centre of a tourist rebirth for the city and the country. For twelve days in February 1984, millions of spectators and television viewers around the world were "introduced" to Sarajevo and Yugoslavia—many of them for the first time—and the country received "an advertisement which could not be bought," according to one American travel agent.⁴

¹ Research and writing support for this project was made possible by a Dissertation Fellowship in East European Studies from the American Council of Learned Societies. I am indebted to Keith Hitchins, Diane Koenker, James Warren, Melissa Salrin, Danielle Kinsey, and Erica Fraser for their comments on and critiques of earlier versions of this chapter.

² Schaap (1984, p. 17).

³ *Final Report of the Organizing Committee of the XIVth 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games (Final Report)* (1984, pp. 138–9); *Catalogue: Museum of the XIV OWG* (1987), University Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, RS 26/20/37, Box 5; "Sjećanje Olimpijade: Otvoren Olimpijski Muzej u Sarajevu", *Odjek* 37/3–4 (1984), p. 27.

⁴ Kurspahić (1985).

Precisely what was socialist Yugoslavia advertising in the 1980s, though, and how did the experience of hosting the Olympic Games shape and mediate this image? Yugoslav tourism suffered in the late 1970s and early 1980s along with the rest of the economy, as the country faced mounting foreign debt and a significant decline in living standards in the immediate years after Tito's death.⁵ Though foreign tourists' buying power was not directly affected by the internal economic crisis in Yugoslavia during this period, this crisis did bring about a slow-down in investment and improvement in the tourist industry, which in turn made the country less attractive to foreign tourists than other similar destinations such as Italy and Greece.⁶ Tourism planners in Sarajevo and Yugoslavia as a whole looked to the Olympics as a catalyst to pump life back into the tourist industry, and directed their Olympic propaganda campaigns primarily at the foreign tourists who had been Yugoslavia's bread and butter since the mid-1960s. One of the narratives of the Sarajevo Games, then, presented the Olympics as a savior for the Yugoslav tourist industry and for the Yugoslav economy on a larger scale, especially in the area of much-needed foreign currency income to combat the mounting foreign debt.

A second common narrative for the 1984 Winter Olympic Games, and one that brimmed with symbolic potential, cast Sarajevo and Yugoslavia as saviors for the embattled Olympic movement, which endured two boycotts in the 1980s along with growing concerns about issues such as doping and "amateur" status.⁷ This interpretation of the Sarajevo Games' significance circulated both inside and outside Yugoslavia throughout what might be called the country's "Olympic era" (1978–1984), with the French daily *Le Matin* gushing that the Sarajevo Games represented an "astonishing armistice" in a non-aligned

⁵ See Lampe (2000, pp. 321–7); Ramet (2006); Lydall (1989).

⁶ Lampe (1989, p. 329–30). Lampe explains that by the late 1980s, foreign currency earnings from tourism and other key industries were being used to pay off the national debt rather than being re-invested into the industries. In tourism, this situation meant that aging facilities were not being upgraded or replaced, which was essential to the success of the tourist industry in a very competitive European tourist market.

⁷ On the "crisis" in the Olympic Movement, see Barney et al. (2002); De Lange (1998); Hoberman (1986); Roche (2000); Schaffer and Smith (2000); Segrave and Chu (1988); Vinokur (1988).

country, and Sarajevo Organizing Committee President, Branko Mikulić,⁸ proclaiming that “Olympism” was a philosophy “...whose humane ideals are identical with the peace policy of Tito’s non-aligned Yugoslavia.”⁹ In order to capitalize on an image that the International Olympic Committee was already promoting, the Sarajevo Olympic Organizing Committee, the Tourist Association of Yugoslavia, and other Olympic and tourist organizations worked to construct Sarajevo and Yugoslavia as healthy embodiments of universal values in an otherwise fractured Cold War world, stressing the allegedly “natural” harmony of Yugoslav non-alignment diplomacy and international Olympic brotherhood. Woven into this image—advanced in tourist brochures, guidebooks, internationally-circulated Olympic newsletters, and special exhibitions—was the implication that Yugoslavia’s people actively lived this universalism on a daily basis by virtue of their citizenship in Tito’s socialist, self-managing, “brotherhood and unity” country.

In reality, however, the Sarajevo Olympic Games opened up a dangerous space in Yugoslav society, a space that exposed some of the economic and political issues that would become tragically unworkable by the end of the decade. Inter-republican rivalries, suspicion of corruption and financial malfeasance, accusations of nationalism, fascism, and “anti-communism,” and exasperation with the federal sys-

⁸ Branko Mikulić was arguably the most important figure in the organization of the Olympics in Sarajevo, and moved on from this successful role to leadership in the Federal Executive Council (*SIV*) in 1986, having earned a reputation for economic efficiency and intelligence. A Bosnian Croat, Mikulić rose to prominence through the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Despite a professed commitment to economic stabilization and restructuring, his stint as chair of the *SIV* was marred by continued debt problems, inflation and strikes. Mikulić eventually stepped down from his position in December 1988, after the rate of inflation had increased to 250 per cent. See Lampe (2000, pp. 327–31).

⁹ The quote from *Le Matin* was reprinted as part of an article titled “Enchant Me Sarajevo,” published in the magazine *Sarajevo '84 Jugoslavija: Jugoslovenska revija za turizam i kulturnu baštinu* in February 1985. The quote from Mikulić was included in the *Final Report* (1984 p. 190). The *Final Report* was published by the Sarajevo press *Oslobođenje* in English, French, and Serbo-Croatian.

tem all emerged during Yugoslavia's Olympic experience, making the triumphant image of peaceful Yugoslav unity at times difficult to package and sell. In particular, the debate over proportional republican financing for the Olympics, which was not settled until 1983, exposed attitudes ranging from ambivalence to hostility toward Yugoslavia's federal structure and the nature of republican rights and responsibilities within this framework. Even as he publicly pleaded for an "all-Yugoslav" approach to organizing and financing the Games, Organizing Committee President Mikulić admitted that the Olympic financing debate perhaps represented a crucial turning point in Yugoslav political and economic history, as its outcome might determine "whether such events in Yugoslavia will in future be treated as a joint venture and, at least partly jointly financed."¹⁰ The experience of Olympic financing demonstrates that the future for such joint ventures was quickly losing popular support as republican and regional concerns gained momentum and, most importantly, powerful spokespeople.¹¹

This chapter will briefly analyze the two primary narratives of the 1984 Sarajevo Olympic Winter Games—as economic catalyst and as Cold War panacea—in which the Games were specifically constructed as a unifying "salvation" device to address both domestic and international crises. It concentrates primarily, however, on exposing the way that these narratives sought to obscure the domestic political and economic controversies that were brought to the fore by socialist Yugoslavia's largest international undertaking. The Sarajevo Olympic organizers, along with tourism officials in other parts of Yugoslavia, sought out the Olympics as the launching pad for a renewed tourist development campaign, trumpeting a universalist Yugoslav unity at arguably the precise moment that this vision was swiftly being emptied of all meaning.

¹⁰ Tanjug, 28 December 1980, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 30 December 1980, 120–22.

¹¹ For analyses of the growing regionalism in many areas of Yugoslav life, see Höpken (1997) and Cohen (1997); Woodward (1995, pp. 21–113); Lampe (2000, pp. 332–64); Ramet (2006, pp. 285–325).

The Economic Crisis and Tourism, 1970s and 1980s

The early part of the 1970s proved tumultuous for Yugoslavia in the political and social realm, as “liberal” or “nationalist” concerns (depending on different perspectives) that emerged from the “Croatian Spring” and other regional movements were treated seriously and harshly by Tito’s government.¹² As John Lampe details, some of the better-known “cultural concerns” of this period—such as the push for the recognition of a separate Croatian language—were accompanied by rumors that corrupt deals with large Belgrade companies were siphoning tourism foreign currency earnings away from Croatia. By the late 1970s, the country had settled into a period of relative economic and political calm, but Sabrina Ramet asserts in her study of state-building and legitimation in Yugoslavia that there was “doom in the air.”¹³ The economic problems of the 1980s, including an enormous foreign debt, unemployment, inflation, and consumer goods shortages, had their beginnings in the 1970s and even earlier, and by the early 1980s they could not be held in check. Between 1970 and 1979 Yugoslavia’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew at a rate of 5.1 percent annually, but in the same period the foreign debt grew by 20 percent, eventually reaching \$20 billion by 1982. Tito’s Yugoslavia had survived for many years on foreign aid, much of it from the United States and United Nations affiliates, but after his death in 1980 these lenders were increasingly wary of making further commitments to a country that had lost its long-time leader and seemed to be struggling to find its political and economic identity in the aftermath. One of the last large-scale foreign efforts to relieve the Yugoslav debt came from an American-led consortium called the “Friends of Yugoslavia,” which assembled a package in 1983–1984. By this time, inflation in the Yugoslav economy had reached 30 percent per annum.¹⁴

¹² See Lampe (2000, pp. 305–14); Ramet (1992, pp. 88–135); Burg (1983, pp. 83–166). By the end of 1972, thousands of party officials in Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and Macedonia had resigned or been expelled or forced to resign from their positions due to their participation in liberal reform movements in their republics.

¹³ Ramet (2006, p. 325).

¹⁴ Lampe (2000, pp. 321–2, 326–7); Ramet (2006, p. 328).

For ordinary Yugoslavs, these problems translated into what Harold Lydall has called “the great reversal” of 1979–1985, when inflation and a foreign trade imbalance resulted in a precipitous drop in the standard of living.¹⁵ Yugoslavia’s leaders had skillfully used consumer culture and an image of prosperity to deflect regional grievances and critiques of communist rule, but when shortages of basic goods and services plagued previously comfortable citizens, many of the serious flaws in Yugoslavia’s socialist system were exposed, and Yugoslavs became ever more skeptical of the worth of socialism as a political and economic ideology.¹⁶ More devastating for the specific ideology of *Yugoslav* socialism was the fact that the economic crises of the 1980s provided fuel for increased regionalism (often ethnically constituted) and a further weakening of the federal centre as a decision-making force. Ramet asserts that by 1986 federal policy-making had essentially ceased.¹⁷ The disruptive potential of inter-republican rivalries is strikingly evident in the renovation and expansion of the “Brotherhood and Unity” highway, which was supposed to link all of Yugoslavia’s republics. In 1976, Slovenia, Croatia, Vojvodina, Serbia, and Macedonia agreed to create individual portions of the highway, but by 1980 only Serbia and Macedonia had completely fulfilled their obligations. Croatia had portions completed, but Slovenia and Vojvodina had not even begun the work. Instead, Slovenia’s republican leadership had used the allotted funds to work on a different road project that “better suited” the republic’s needs.¹⁸ This independent and separatist attitude on the part of the republics, which Tito had managed to keep in check through both persuasion and coercion, would emerge again in the bitter debates over financing the 1984 Winter Olympic Games.

The tourist industry was harmed by foreign debt, unemployment, inflation, and shortages along with the rest of the Yugoslav economy,

¹⁵ Lydall (1989, pp. 40–6).

¹⁶ Lampe (2000, p. 322); Drakulić (1991) focuses in part on this period in Yugoslavia. Patterson’s (2001) work on consumer culture and marketing in socialist Yugoslavia analyses the role that consumer culture—including tourism and vacations played in legitimizing the Yugoslav socialist project.

¹⁷ Ramet (2006, p. 335).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 281–2.

but tourist organizers and some members of the government believed that tourism could also be an important part of the solution to these problems. The most important way in which tourism could contribute to economic stabilization and recovery, they argued, was its potential to increase much-needed foreign currency revenue. In the 1980s, however, Yugoslavia's foreign currency intake from tourism lagged behind that of close competitors such as Greece, France, Italy, and Spain, and in research conducted in 1988 for the Institute for Tourism, Srđan Marković identified both the shortage of available consumer goods and the uneven regional distribution of tourist services, among other issues, as continuing crucial weaknesses in Yugoslavia's tourist industry.¹⁹ The lack of modern accommodation, transportation infrastructure, and other tourist amenities was also retarding the growth of Yugoslavia's tourist industry and preventing it from realizing an ambitious goal of generating 4.4 billion US dollars of foreign currency income by 1990.²⁰

For chairman Branko Mikulić and other members of the Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games Organizing Committee, the Games provided a fortuitous solution to many of these problems, both in terms of the tourist industry in general and the Yugoslav economy as a whole. Tourist professionals across the country, including Srđan Marković, Antun Kobašić, and Miodrag Zečević, warned that Yugoslavia's Adriatic Coast was nearly exhausted in terms of tourist development, and that future development plans had to look to the country's interior regions if Yugoslav tourism was to continue its expansion and profitability. Mountain tourism, both in winter and summer, formed an important part of this proposed tourist re-orientation, as did a focus on spas, baths, and river tourism along the Danube in inland Croatia, Vojvodina, and Serbia.²¹ Mikulić reinforced this opinion in a December 1980 address in Sarajevo to a group of communist activists (*aktiv*), in which he argued

¹⁹ Marković (1988). According to 1985 statistics, Italy had a foreign currency tourist income of \$8.7577 billion, Spain had \$8.0837 billion, France had \$7.9286 billion, Greece had \$1.4258 billion, and Yugoslavia had \$1.05 billion (*ibid.*).

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Memic (1985).

²¹ Marković (1987, pp. 122–46); Zečević (1973, pp. 161–170).

that prospects for further development on the Adriatic coast were “not great,” but that development in the Yugoslav interior, such as that planned for the Olympic Games, would ultimately benefit the coast as well.²² His message, echoing that of Yugoslav tourist experts, was that the future of the country’s tourism lay in places like Sarajevo, and in major events like the Olympic Games.

Sarajevo, located in a picturesque bowl of mountains, had a local tradition of winter sports and summer excursionism which dated back at least to the nineteenth century, and by the mid-1950s modest ski areas were constructed on Mounts Jahorina, Bjelašnica, and Igman.²³ In contrast to resorts in Slovenia, which regularly attracted Italian and Austrian skiers, however, Sarajevo’s ski slopes and other mountain activities remained of regional rather than international interest. One reason for this low profile was the relative difficulty of travel to and from Sarajevo, especially in the winter months, when dense fog often shut down the city’s small airport. Tourist facilities on and around the mountains, such as hotels, restaurants, cafes, and ski shops, were not well established. Some of the mountains did not have modern roads to service them, nor was there reliable public transportation for visiting skiers and hikers to use. These challenges were well-publicized and much reported on (especially in the international press) after the International Olympic Committee awarded the 1984 Winter Games to Sarajevo in 1978, choosing an undeveloped gem over the better-equipped competitors of Sapporo, Japan, and Göteborg, Sweden.

The temporary Sarajevo organizing committee headed by City Assembly president Anto Sučić and the later permanent committee under Branko Mikulić²⁴ regarded the Olympic Games as an opportunity to correct these structural weaknesses as well as a chance to improve Yugoslavia’s declining position as a European tourist destination. Fed-

²² Tanjug, 28 December 1980, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 30 December 1980, 120–22.

²³ *Final Report* (1984, p. 4); “Jahorina: Bosna i Hercegovina,” Turistički savez Bosne i Hercegovine, 1965. Centre for Tourism Documentation and Information (CTDI) Propaganda Collection.

²⁴ The temporary organizing committee was formed in July 1978, following the IOC announcement in May 1978. The temporary committee operated until March 1980, making preliminary plans, until the perma-

eral and republican funds were channeled into building modern sports facilities, hotels, and transportation infrastructure and in bringing existing resources up to “international” standards in anticipation of the thousands of visitors who would come to Sarajevo and Yugoslavia both during and after the Games. Mikulić and other Sarajevo promoters, such as Information Sector director Pavle Lukac, often highlighted the Games’ larger economic significance in conversations with foreign journalists during the years and months leading up to the event, and many responded with positive articles about the country’s efforts to improve existing tourist offerings on the Adriatic as well as developing locales such as Sarajevo essentially “from scratch.” An article by Steve Crenshaw in the *Financial Times* of London in June 1982 specifically mentioned the importance of tourism for eliminating Yugoslavia’s foreign currency imbalance and debt, and noted that tourist officials were desperately trying to attract visitors in the off-season in order to relieve the strain on inadequate hotel capacity in the summer months.²⁵ A year later, Sylvie Nickels encouraged *Financial Times* readers to visit Yugoslavia’s cultural and natural treasures before the country was overrun by the hordes of tourists who would “discover” it during the Olympic Games.²⁶ On the immediate eve of the Games, Canada’s *Globe and Mail* speculated about whether Sarajevo could become “another Innsbruck,” referring to the Austrian city that had twice hosted the Winter Games and now hauled in between \$6 and \$7 billion annually from winter tourism. Yugoslavia needed between \$4 and \$5 billion per year in order to pay off its \$20 billion foreign debt, and had been relying on the tourist industry to supply at least \$1 billion of this total. Yugoslav government and tourist officials hoped, according to the Canadian newspaper, to increase this amount by 20 percent as a result of the publicity and goodwill earned by the Olympic Games, turning the event into a profitable venture not only for Sarajevo but for the country as a whole.²⁷

nent Organizing Committee was created under Mikulić’s direction. Mikulić was, at the time, a member of the League of Communists of the Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium.

²⁵ Crenshaw (1982).

²⁶ Nickels (1983).

²⁷ “Sarajevo another Innsbruck? City hopes Games prompt tourism,” *The Globe and Mail*, 7 February 1984.

When Branko Mikulić addressed the Sarajevo activists in December 1980, he stressed not only that the Winter Olympic Games would help the Yugoslav-wide tourist economy but also that the venture was “in no way contrary to the policy of stabilization but is on the contrary in keeping with that policy and particularly with the demand for realizing a greater net foreign currency income.”²⁸ Mikulić was reacting directly to domestic criticism from various quarters, including other members of the government and ordinary citizens, who questioned the wisdom of large investments in sports and tourist facilities when some areas of the country still lacked working hospitals and other essential services.²⁹ One Yugoslav woman, when asked about the Games by a journalist from the *Christian Science Monitor*, grumbled that she was sure the spectacle would simply drive inflation to new heights rather than bring any kind of economic relief.³⁰ Despite these domestic misgivings about the Games (which will be explored in more depth shortly), Mikulić and his supporters in the government and tourism planning communities continued to look to the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games as a rejuvenating force for Yugoslav tourism and the entire Yugoslav economy in the 1980s.

Yugoslav Non-Alignment and the Olympic Movement

The 1984 Sarajevo Games were also constructed as a rejuvenating moment for the international Olympic movement in the midst of a difficult decade. The tense Cold War climate in the 1980s infused the Sarajevo Games with powerful symbolic importance, but the specific nature of this symbolism was often constituted differently depending on the observer’s identity and position. While the Sarajevo Organizing Committee confidently asserted that the Sarajevo Games served as a glowing “affirmation” of Yugoslavia’s socialist system and above all of its leadership in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) beginning in

²⁸ Tanjug, 28 December 1980, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 30 December 1980, I20–22.

²⁹ Tihi (1984).

³⁰ Zalubowski (1983).

the 1960s, an official IOC report on host city trends asserts that Yugoslavia's geopolitics helped the country remain "much closer to Western countries than to the other Eastern powers."³¹ The IOC report implies that Yugoslavia's non-aligned diplomatic stance *was* a crucial factor in the Committee's decision to award the Games to Sarajevo, but that this stance was interpreted as an antidote to the country's socialist political system, not as an integral part of this system as the Yugoslavs themselves believed. Western European and North American reportage in the years leading up to the Sarajevo Games also tended to lump Yugoslavia with other East European communist states, despite the country's distinctive geopolitical position, with one *Washington Post* article in 1983 referring specifically to "Yugoslavia's *alignment* [emphasis mine] in the Eastern bloc" in either blatant ignorance of or indifference to Yugoslavia's self-identification.³²

Despite these challenges, during Yugoslavia's "Olympic era" tourist planners worked avidly to attract foreign tourists to a country that had, through the honor of hosting the Olympic Games, been recognized and commended internationally for its embodiment of

³¹ *Final Report* (1984, p. 190); "Candidate Cities and Venues for the Winter Olympics," Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, p. 3. NAM traces its origins to the Asia-Africa Conference held in Indonesia in 1955 to discuss the challenges faced by developing countries—the majority of them former colonies—especially in terms of resisting the political and economic pressures of the so-called "Great Powers." Yugoslavia's association with NAM solidified after Belgrade hosted the first Conference of Non-Aligned Heads of State in September 1961, a summit organized largely on President Tito's initiative. At that meeting the most pressing issue was the escalating arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union and the fear that it could result in world war, which heightened the importance of the anti-bloc "third way" advocated by NAM. Yugoslavia was suspended as a NAM member state in 1992, in the midst of its disintegration. See Bratko (1980); Benevolensky (1985); Djurdjevac (1983); Tito (1979); Willetts (1978); Zimmerman (1977).

³² Shapiro (1983). The phrase "Sarajevo is Ready" (used by Shapiro in the title of his article) refers to a promotional film about the preparations for the Games that was produced and distributed by the Organizing Committee. The film was the fifth in a series that also included "Welcome to Sarajevo" and two instalments of "Sarajevo Builds."

"Olympism."³³ In "All About the Games" (*Sve o igrama*), a 1983 guidebook produced in English, French, German, and Serbo-Croatian, Branko Mikulić wrote that Yugoslavia was "a country which bases all its relations on the principles outlined in the Olympic Charter" and vowed that the Sarajevo Games would "contribute to the further strengthening and fullest possible prosperity of the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement."³⁴ To provide evidence for these claims, the guidebook devoted a considerable amount of space to examining the multi-national heritage of Sarajevo, Bosnia, and Yugoslavia and the way that this heritage was specifically embodied in architecture, art, culture, science, and sport. The reigning image is one of a peaceful yet diverse co-existence between the many different people who called Yugoslavia home, and both the written text and visual images used in the guidebook serve to reinforce Mikulić's assertion that in Yugoslavia, non-alignment diplomacy consisted of an identifiable set of ethical values "on which the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and all her nations and nationalities base their mutual and international relations...: human rights, equality, independence, the struggle against all forms of discrimination, peaceful co-existence, the ensuring of peace in all areas of the world."³⁵ In this and other tourist texts, Mikulić and other government and tourist officials claimed that Yugoslavia's non-aligned stance in the wider world rested on a domestic political and social system guided by the principles of cooperation, "brotherhood," justice, and fairness.

³³ In 1972, the International Olympic Committee produced a special brochure titled *Olympism*, designed to give a history of the ancient Olympic Games as well as the modern incarnation envisioned and championed by Pierre de Coubertin. The brochure defines Olympism as "a resurrection of the ideals that reached their peak of perfection at the four-yearly festivals at Olympia," including "the cultivation of the mind, moral conscience and the body; beauty equilibrium of values, forces and faculties; ability to assimilate all civilizations and to be a decisive factor of progress within them" and a value "of today: a complete and continual adaptation to industrial, scientific, technical and social revolutions." *Olympism* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 1972, p. 8).

³⁴ *Sve o igrama* (1983, pp. 6–7).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The overblown and propagandist nature of these pronouncements about the accord between Yugoslavia's domestic situation and its geopolitical stance is painfully obvious, especially in the aftermath of the country's violent disintegration just a few years after these statements were made. Nor are attempts to link internal politics and Olympic ideals unique; Soviet organizers for the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics followed a similar script when they wrote of the "friendly, peace-loving Soviet people" and their new constitution which "embodies the lofty ideals of democracy, humanism, peace, and progress" in a guidebook to the Moscow Games.³⁶ The English edition of this book was not published until 1979, at approximately the same time that the Soviet government's invasion of Afghanistan prompted the United States to organize a boycott of the Moscow Games. In 1981, longtime Yugoslav critic and dissident Milovan Djilas attacked the Non-Aligned Movement itself, arguing that it was effectively dead and warning Yugoslavia's leaders that, "hammering on the fundamental principles of the movement is an empty tale without any meaning."³⁷

Djilas' critique, which stemmed from his belief that post-Tito Yugoslavia needed to forge its own, reformed path in order to survive, points to the painful ironies of the "Olympic era" in Yugoslavia. As the Tourist Association of Yugoslavia, the tourist presses, and other agencies were producing texts such as *Sve o igrama* that promoted Yugoslavia as the healthy embodiment of Olympism both domestically and internationally, bitter debates were raging between the country's six republics over who should organize, pay for, and profit from the Games. These debates, though ostensibly stemming from economic pressures, were in fact disagreements about the fundamental essence of the Yugoslav federation and its continued existence in a post-Tito world. Non-aligned Yugoslavia may have seemed like an ideal stage for performing international cooperation, but on the domestic stage "brotherhood and unity" was wearing dangerously thin.

³⁶ Bazunov and Popov (1979, p. 6).

³⁷ "Djilas Criticizes Continuation of 'Titoism'," Rotterdam NRC *Handelsblad*, 27 January 1981, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 11 February 1981, I11-12.

Social Discord: The Olympiad in a Fractured Federation

Western European and North American journalists who reported on the Olympic preparations in Sarajevo in the early 1980s invariably took note of Yugoslavia's internal economic problems, especially the soaring inflation, unemployment, and foreign debt that plagued the country from the mid-1970s onward. Given these challenges, many were skeptical that the Olympic venues would be provided with enough electricity, that the transportation and communications systems would work, or that the Yugoslavs would provide goods and services that met "Western standards." After all, some of them reminded their readers, Yugoslavia *was* a communist country, no matter how much it insisted that it was "different."³⁸ Many of these skeptics changed their tune once the Sarajevo Games were under way, and heaped glowing praise on both the professional organizers and ordinary Yugoslavs who had worked to make the Games an internationally-recognized success. Ross Atkin, a writer for the *Christian Science Monitor* who admonished himself for his earlier disparaging comments about the Yugoslavs' abilities, was particularly taken with the sight of ordinary Sarajevans working through the night to keep the city streets and mountain roadways clear after a sudden blizzard, an effort which he and many other international observers attributed to a healthy collective ethos at work and interpreted as an authentic performance of "Olympism" and Yugoslav unity.³⁹

Unfortunately, Yugoslavia's Olympic-era critics were not merely, nor even predominantly, international. More skepticism and outright hostility toward the Olympic idea was expressed within Yugoslavia than outside, and these domestic critics were much harder to placate with carefully choreographed performances of cooperation and camaraderie. After the IOC awarded the Olympic Games to Sarajevo in May 1978, the endeavor yielded relatively little discussion until roughly two years later, when the permanent Organizing Committee under Branko Mikulić formed in March 1980. The Organizing Committee

³⁸ For examples of this pre-Olympic scepticism, see Leavy (1984); Atkin (1984a); Poole (1983); Tagliabue (1983); "Bosnia takes on the world," *The Economist*, 4 February 1984, p. 60.

³⁹ Atkin (1984b).

set to work mapping out the logistics of the Games, including a financing plan that called for contributions from the federal government as well as the six republics and two autonomous regions. A similar plan had been used to finance the 1979 Mediterranean Games held in Split, establishing a precedent for nationwide participation in international sports competitions deemed to be of “general importance to the entire country, regardless of the location or event.”⁴⁰ In October 1980, however, a Croatian delegate to the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav assembly called for an official inquiry about financing for the Games, specifically questioning whether the Federal Executive Council (*Savezno izvršno veće, SIV*) had committed any funds to the project and whether the federal presidency and the Central Committee of the League of Communists believed that such an undertaking was “suitable” in the context of the economic stabilization that the country was attempting to achieve.⁴¹

The *SIV* prepared a response to Delegate Eduard Čenčić’s questions and stated that although no firm agreement had been reached concerning the financing for the Games, Bosnia-Herzegovina’s anticipated contribution would be two-thirds of the eventual total, with the other republics and provinces contributing the remaining one-third. By December 1980 the Organizing Committee had finalized a budget for the Sarajevo Games as well as a preliminary financing plan with proportional contributions from all of Yugoslavia’s “sociopolitical communities” from the federal down to the provincial level. At this juncture, the Games were projected to cost 4.72 billion dinars, 3 billion of which was to come from commercial revenue (television rights, goods, and services) generated by the Games themselves. The remaining costs would be covered by a contribution of 150 million dinars from the *SIV* along with funds expected in equal shares from the city of Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the other republics and provinces.⁴² Upon releasing the budget and financing projections, Mikulić stressed in *Borba* that, “Everything that has been done in preparing for the

⁴⁰ *Final Report* (1984, p. 182).

⁴¹ Tanjug, 29 October 1980, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 30 October 1980, I6–7.

⁴² *Borba*, 25 December 1980, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 8 January 1981, I3–4.

Olympic games, what is being done and what will be done is permeated with the spirit of stabilization.”⁴³ This qualification was necessary, given that the earliest projections for the Olympic budget had set the cost at “only” 1.87 billion dinars. When the new, larger figure was publicly released, Organizing Committee member Boris Bakrač stated that it was essential for the Sarajevo organizers to keep the entire Yugoslav public well-informed about the preparations for the Olympics in order to educate ordinary Yugoslavs not only about the origin of the high costs but also about the potential economic benefits that the Games could bring.

In the interest of accomplishing this task, the Organizing Committee encouraged the creation of “Olympic Boards” in many municipalities around the country, bodies which were supposed to help their towns plan and finance new winter sports centers in an effort to harness Yugoslavia’s promised heightened visibility as a winter tourism destination. The Committee also actively recruited personnel from all Yugoslav republics and autonomous provinces to staff the Olympic competitions, hoping that these employees would return to their homes afterwards with new skills and ideas with which to enrich Yugoslavia’s larger tourist industry. Meetings for republican and regional leaders were held in more than one hundred towns and cities across Yugoslavia, at which economists and tourism professionals made presentations highlighting “the possibilities of cooperation in the field of marketing and of utilizing the popularity of the Games for the further development of tourism and the tourist economy.”⁴⁴ These information-propaganda campaigns directed by the Sarajevo Olympic Organizing Committee were designed to appeal to a sense of collective Yugoslav pride and responsibility for the success of the Games as well as more individualized and localized desires for economic advancement and recovery. The Olympic Boards, community meetings, and economic presentations therefore brought together the two dominant narratives of the Yugoslav “Olympic era” by stressing that substantial economic profit could result from a convincing public performance of the stated ideals of Tito’s non-aligned, “brotherhood and unity” Yugoslavia during the

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ *Final Report* (1984, pp. 95, 100, 137).

Olympic Games, even if current popular sentiment recoiled from this artifice.

In his closing comments to the Organizing Committee during the December 1980 meeting at which the preliminary budget was adopted, Mikulić seconded Bakrač's statement and asserted that healthy communication would help to "eliminate doubts" and ensure that the Olympic Games would be organized "as a Yugoslav manifestation."⁴⁵ Implicit in these statements is a defense against the skepticism expressed by Eduard Čenčić, who represented a sizeable chorus of Yugoslav politicians and ordinary people who considered the Olympic Games to be an extravagant and arrogant undertaking for a country in the midst of economic crisis—the Games were decried in the Yugoslav press at this time as "a noneconomic investment," an "unnecessary expense," and the result of "megalomania."⁴⁶ In his defensive speech before the Sarajevo political *aktiv* on 25 December 1980, Mikulić asked, "Why are some newspapers making an issue out of this situation?" The Olympic Games, he asserted, were much more than simply an expensive sports undertaking but were a chance to develop tourism in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia at large, to "activate" previously unused natural resources, to increase industrial and food production in the country, and to improve transportation—all while generating the foreign currency income "so much needed by the country."⁴⁷ Furthermore, he stressed, the Games were being planned completely in the spirit of economic stabilization, in that all new Olympic construction was designed for multiple uses in the post-Olympic period.

Mikulić's defenses were intended to convince skeptics that the Olympic Games, and tourism in the larger sense, could play an integral role in Yugoslavia's economic recovery rather than contributing to its continued slide, stressing the first primary narrative of the Sarajevo Olympics. He also used this December speech, however, to alert Yugoslavs that the current debate over Olympic financing was "primarily a question of principle and then a material question," in that the

⁴⁵ *Borba*, 25 December 1980, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 8 January 1981, I3–4.

⁴⁶ *Tanjug*, 28 December 1980, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 30 December 1980, I20–22.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

refusal of the other five republics to support materially the Games rested on their leaders' differing—and potentially dangerous—interpretations of the *principles* of the Yugoslav federal system as it had evolved by the 1980s. The example of the “Brotherhood and Unity” Highway cited earlier is an excellent one for illustrating Sabrina Ramet's assessment that in the 1980s the federal units “pursued their own interests, consistently and as a matter of policy.”⁴⁸ After Tito's death in 1980, more open debate over the proper nature of the federal structure emerged, especially in Vojvodina and Kosovo which had the most to gain from a de-centralized federation that emphasized their internal autonomy.⁴⁹

As these crucial debates over the responsibilities and rights of the republics and provinces raged on, a social accord (*društveni dogovor*) for Olympic financing still had not been reached two years later. In May of 1982 the Interrepublican Committee for Finance presented a report to the new SIV under Prime Minister Milka Planinc about the proposed social accord which stated that Bosnia-Herzegovina would supply 85 per cent (4.7 billion dinars) of the needed funds, with the other republics and the federal government contributing 11.2 per cent (573.88 million dinars) and 3.8 per cent (210 million dinars) respectively.⁵⁰ Also in 1982, all employed citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sarajevo began contributing regularly to the Olympic cause by ceding 0.2 percent and 0.3 percent of their monthly pay, respectively. Although the Organizing Committee's Final Report describes these contributions as “based on a voluntarily adopted agreement” (*po osnovi dobrovoljno prihvaćenog sporazuma*), they were essentially an “Olympic tax” imposed on the Yugoslavs most closely connected to—and therefore most likely to benefit from—the Sarajevo Games.⁵¹ Therefore, the Organizing Committee's financing proposal to the federal government *did* include provisions to ensure that Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sarajevo, as official Olympic hosts, would bear the lion's

⁴⁸ Ramet (2006, p. 282).

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 326–40.

⁵⁰ Tanjug, 20 May 1982, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 21 May 1982, I6–7.

⁵¹ *Final Report* (1984, pp. 182–3).

share of the cost for the Games. Branko Mikulić asserted that this situation was self-evident and “natural,” given the immediate gains that the city and republic would reap from the Olympics.

The draft proposal was submitted to the Yugoslav Assembly in late May, and by the middle of June Slovenia, Serbia, Kosovo, and Vojvodina had announced their refusals to accept it. Slovenia’s republican Executive Council rejected the accord on the grounds that the Sarajevo organizers had not consulted with the other republican leaderships about sharing the financial burden when the Games were first proposed, thus blind-siding the remaining republics with “unfair” requests. Vojvodina, on the other hand, accepted the accord conditionally but demanded that the province should be the beneficiary of retrospective finance sharing for the World Table Tennis Championship, a major (and quite unsuccessful) event held in Novi Sad in 1981.⁵² Kosovo’s leaders wanted to include a “sports lottery” in the financing plans, and Serbia simply wanted the Yugoslav Assembly to clarify further the responsibilities of the republics and provinces as the Olympic project moved forward.⁵³ After continued heated discussion, the social accord was finally passed in the Skupština in July, and a similar accord was signed to cover retroactively the Novi Sad table tennis championships in October.⁵⁴ According to historian John Lampe, the other republics and provinces were finally convinced to release their contributions and sign the accord only when the Sarajevo Organizing Committee negotiated a larger television contract with the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and several other international networks, thus ensuring that the Games would be a financial success rather than

⁵² Tanjug, 17 June 1982, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 30 June 1982, I23.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ *Službeni list SFRJ*, br. 43/str. 1098: Odluka o usvajanju inicijative da Skupština SFRJ bude sudionik u zaključivanju Društvenog dogovora o organiziranju i financiranju XIV. zimskih olimpijskih igara u Sarajevu 1984. godine (1982); br. 64/str. 1530: Odluka o usvajanju inicijative da Skupština SFRJ bude sudionik u zaključivanju Društvenog dogovora o organiziranju i financiranju 36. svjetskog prvenstva u sto[1]nom tenisu 1981. godine u Novom Sadu (1982).

the disaster that many leaders feared.⁵⁵ The principle of republican and provincial self-interest rather than a communal “Yugoslav” ethos was clearly at work in this calculus which appeared ready to allow the “Bosnian Olympics” to fail, and its manifestation in the 1980s boded quite ill for Yugoslavia’s future as a unified country.

In January 1983, with the social accord on Olympic financing safely signed and preparations for the mega-event well under way, Branko Mikulić seized the opportunity to publicly refute “misinformation” about the planning, financing, and organization of the Olympic Games that had been circulating since the beginning of the decade. In the process he summarized the principal criticisms of the Olympic experience and also pointed to many of the primary fault lines in Yugoslav society as a whole, exposing anxieties about ethnic nationalism and political reform that had been brewing in the country since the 1970s. In a long article circulated by the Yugoslav state news agency, Tanjug, Mikulić dismissed claims that the Organizing Committee had mismanaged resources, used foreign architects and engineers to design sub-standard sports facilities, and imported goods and services “irrationally” as “rumors” spread by “anti self-management and anti-communist quarters in the country and abroad,” many of whom, he claimed, had ties to “fascist” and “Ustaša” *émigrés*.⁵⁶ Mikulić also drew parallels between those who criticized the Olympic financing and organization processes and “nationalists” of the Croatian Spring and other liberal movements of the early 1970s, accusing them of spreading lies about Tito, the revolution, and the federal structure in an attempt to “bring about fratricide and political upheavals,” especially in multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina which had often had to endure challenges to its very legitimacy from “hegemonist pretensions.”⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Lampe (2000, p. 328). Original negotiations for the contract took place early in the planning process, in January 1980. The eventual deal was worth \$91.5 million, with \$66 million going directly to the Sarajevo organizers and the remainder to the IOC. See also “ABC-TV Awarded Rights to 1984 Winter Olympics,” *The Washington Post*, January 25, 1980, E1; Barney et al. (2002).

⁵⁶ Tanjug, 25 January 1983, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 26 January 1983, I2–4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Beginning with Vladimir Dedijer’s “de-mythologizing” biography of Tito in 1981, a body of critical works emerged that refused to regard

This is hardly measured rhetoric. Mikulić employed the familiar Communist trope of “rumors” and “lies” spread by nefarious émigré opponents, but rendered this fear particularly pertinent to the Yugoslav context by raising the specter of nationalism and “fratricide.” He took this traditional discourse even further when he called upon the Olympic organizers and supporters to “unmask and resolutely frustrate their activity against our brotherhood, unity, equality of nations and nationalities, federal system, socialism, self-management, and policy of non-alignment through organized and persistent political activity by communists and other progressive people.”⁵⁸ This exhortation is easily identifiable as a defense of the formulaic laundry list of Yugoslavia’s distinctive political and economic characteristics, but it should not be dismissed as merely the empty rhetoric of a government functionary. As Mikulić had asserted from early in the Olympic organizing process, he saw dangerous portents in the recalcitrance with which the other republics and provinces approached the Sarajevo Olympic Games and predicted that the results of the financing debate would have repercussions that extended well beyond the Games’ closing ceremonies. His public pronouncements about the Olympics, some of which were picked up by the international as well as the domestic press, consistently sought to emphasize the crucial links between the Olympics—an event which many Yugoslavs dismissed as “frivolous”—and the very real political and economic challenges that Yugoslavia faced in the 1980s.

Specifically, Mikulić and his fellow Sarajevo promoters sought to impress upon the Yugoslav political community and the general public the necessity of uniting under a common banner of cooperation in order to make the Sarajevo Olympics a success, a success that had the potential to translate into multiple successes for the tourist industry and the country as a whole. In this context, skepticism about the “suit-

Tito’s person and political legacy as sacred. Mikulić is likely referring here to these published texts as well as the growing tolerance for criticism of many aspects of Yugoslav political, economic, and social culture that had not existed while Tito was alive.

⁵⁸ Ibid. On the anxieties surrounding “masking”, impersonation and imposture in Soviet Russia, especially the “acute fear of concealed and disguised ‘enemies’” that was a feature of Soviet society in the 1920s and 1930s, see Fitzpatrick (2001; 2005).

ability” of the Olympic Games became skepticism about the validity of Yugoslavia, and about the nature of “the role and responsibility of republics and provinces for their development and the development of our Yugoslav community.”⁵⁹ With this statement, Mikulić acknowledged that the republics and provinces held their own developmental agendas and would likely be motivated to act by these concerns. His general outlook throughout Yugoslavia’s Olympic era, however, implies that he also continued to believe that a socialist vision of Yugoslav unity could be achieved through the experience of shared financial sacrifice, hard work, and eventual economic benefits. Just as tourist professionals hoped that the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games would revive the Yugoslav tourist industry and IOC officials hoped they would rescue the embattled Olympic movement, Branko Mikulić (soon after to become Prime Minister) somewhat desperately argued for the Games as a rebirth of the “brotherhood and unity” ideal, buoyed by positive international affirmation and the life-saving balm of foreign currency. For many reasons, this plea fell largely on deaf ears.

Conclusion

In May 1987, Milan Kučan, president of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, assessed the current mood in Yugoslavia for the Belgrade magazine *Danas*: “The fact that for many years the country has been in a state of crisis has affected the attitudes of the people... The crisis has weakened customary values. There is much anxiety; there is much less confidence in the ‘subjective forces’ [the Party], in our ideology, and in our system.”⁶⁰ Kučan’s reading of the Yugoslav situation in the latter half of the 1980s is intriguing considering his role in Slovenia’s eventual secession from the federation, an act which set in motion the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia.⁶¹ In this context, however, his words are more useful for the manner in which they accurately capture the anxieties brought into

⁵⁹ Tanjug, 25 January 1983, trans. in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (Eastern Europe), 26 January 1983, 12–4.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Lydall (1989, p. 98).

⁶¹ See Lampe (2000, p. 360); Ramet (2006, pp. 387–96); Woodward (1995, pp. 82–145).

the open by the Olympic experience and assess these anxieties in terms of cause and effect. Economic and political unrest from the 1970s onward led many Yugoslavs to doubt the validity and “suitability” of a socialist federation, therefore making them far less likely to actively support projects that seemed to run counter to their most pressing individual needs. In the 1980s, these needs included a job, a living wage, and basic consumer goods, not an international sports spectacle that would cost the country billions of dinars. The promise of positive international publicity and lucrative foreign currency returns in the future failed to sway many skeptics.

In many ways, the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games were a success, and precisely in the ways that its domestic and international supporters had hoped. The Organizing Committee’s final report recorded a surplus of \$10 million, and Western news sources confirmed that the Games had been staged within budget and with no major financial difficulties.⁶² *Sarajevo '84*, a Yugoslav travel magazine founded during the Games by the Organizing Committee, boasted of a huge post-Olympic increase in travel to Yugoslavia, especially from westerners who had been introduced to the country through extensive television coverage.⁶³ This claim is buttressed by official statistics for foreign tourist visits and overnight stays as well as foreign currency earnings from tourism, which increased from a low of \$884 million in 1982 to \$1.7 billion by 1987.⁶⁴ Geoffrey Weston, a writer for London’s *Financial Times*, noted in April 1984 that British citizens had booked more holidays that year for Yugoslavia than for any other country, citing the favorable exchange rate between the pound sterling and the dinar.⁶⁵ Five years later, newspapers were still touting Yugoslavia as an attractive and cheap ski destination for American citizens, although one *Boston Globe* article ominously noted that inflation in the country was currently at 1,000 per cent, with the dollar worth 50,000 dinars.⁶⁶ It is also important to note that tourists in Yugoslavia, both foreign and

⁶² Leerhsen and Kasindorj (1984); Atkin (1984c); “Games close with an even break,” *The Washington Post*, 20 February 1984, C6.

⁶³ Kurspahić (1985).

⁶⁴ Marković (1988, pp. 88–96).

⁶⁵ Weston (1984).

⁶⁶ Davis (1989).

domestic, overwhelmingly continued to prefer the Adriatic Coast to any other part of the country, including ski resorts. In 1985, for example, 88 percent of foreign tourists spent their holidays in seaside resorts and only 3.4 percent spent time in mountain resorts. Bosnia and Herzegovina accounted for only 1 percent of the total overnight stays of foreign tourists in the late 1980s, while Croatia hauled in 80 percent of these visitors. Though the Sarajevo Olympics might have boosted tourism to Yugoslavia in a general way, the results were once again geographically uneven.

From the IOC's perspective, the Sarajevo Games provided, as planned, a welcome respite from the boycott-marred contests in Moscow (1980) and Los Angeles (1984). A record number of participants from a record number of countries attended the Games (partially due to an IOC initiative to pay the way of one athlete from any country that desired to compete), and the image of Sarajevo as a peaceful meeting ground of the world's athletic youth persisted in the public imagination.⁶⁷ The "Sarajevo Winter" arts festival, which grew out of the cultural program accompanying the Games, continued to bring international artists and performers to the city annually for what one promoter termed "a continuous memory of the famous Olympic days" and "a contribution to the spirit of international friendship and love."⁶⁸

Sarajevo's "famous Olympic days" were particularly remembered at the tenth anniversary of the Sarajevo Games, which coincided with both the 1994 Winter Olympic Games in Lillehammer, Norway, and the height of the siege of Sarajevo during the Bosnian war. Journalists around the world dramatically juxtaposed the international "brotherhood" supposedly inherent in "Olympism" with the disintegrating "brotherhood and unity" in Yugoslavia to highlight the tragedy in Sarajevo, but Zlatko Dizdarević, editor of the Sarajevo newspaper *Oslobođenje*, also turned this discourse on its head, writing in February 1994: "All the best was once possible here. But the people who made that true are no longer alive today or will no longer be alive

⁶⁷ *Final Report* (1984, pp. 91, 114, 117).

⁶⁸ Jančić (1985). The Sarajevo Winter festival continued throughout the war in Bosnia and the siege in Sarajevo.

tomorrow. The world watched their departure from a dispassionate distance, as if they were Olympic judges.”⁶⁹ Dizdarević clearly placed some of the blame for the situation in Sarajevo on the incompetence and stagnation of the international community in the face of war and abundant human rights abuses, implying that “Olympism,” contrary to what its rhetoric and worldwide supporters asserted, was an empty quadrennial spectacle rather than an active force for peace. This critique interestingly finds kinship with Milovan Djilas’ earlier dismissal of 1980s non-alignment diplomacy as “an empty tale without any meaning.”

Many observers saw the ultimate in Olympic and Yugoslav irony when Koševo Stadium, site of the joyous opening ceremony for the 1984 Winter Olympic Games, was turned into a mass graveyard during the Bosnian War. Along with the human beings buried in its soil, the stadium cemetery was said to be the final resting place of a litany of high ideals: diversity, tolerance, multi-culturalism, cooperation, and of course Yugoslav “brotherhood and unity.” International observers chimed in with laments for Olympic ideals in a similar tune. These rhetorical exercises, while poignant and stirring, largely miss or obscure the concrete significance of the entire Olympic experience in Yugoslavia, which served to expose deeply etched anxieties over the country’s political structure and its future as a unified federation. While certainly not all Yugoslavs in the 1980s had lost faith in what Milan Kučan described as the “subjective forces” of the Party, the ideology, and the system, the tenor of the intra-republican debates over Olympic financing reveals that practical matters—jobs, wages, investment, development—were pulling the Yugoslav republics apart in ways that ideology could not mend. As for the Olympic Games and the Olympic movement, Sarajevo was not the lasting restorative balm for which the IOC had hoped, as the Games have continually grown more commercialized, consumerist, and politicized since the 1980s.

The Olympic era in Yugoslavia *did* brim with possibilities for both the country’s tourist industry and the Olympic movement, but, not surprisingly, individual and local concerns won out over larger,

⁶⁹ Dizdarević (1994).

more inclusive visions. Ultimately, no Yugoslav leaders stepped forward to stem the tide of distrust, disgust, and weariness toward the political and economic *status quo*. When Yugoslavia's breaking point arrived, human victims—some entirely innocent, some less so—filled Koševo Stadium and hundreds of other burial grounds across the country. It is their loss, rather than the disappearance of any “Olympic” or “Yugoslav” ideology, that constitutes the Yugoslav tragedy.

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Yugoslavia as It Once Was

What Tourism and Leisure Meant for the History of the Socialist Federation

Patrick Hyder Patterson

Half-forgotten now in the aftermath of the harrowing wars of the 1990s is the old image of Yugoslavia: a kinder, gentler implementation of socialist rule that managed to keep its citizens tolerably content, often even happy, and to welcome, impress, and even inspire visitors from outside the communist world. That optimistic picture of the country once had considerably currency both at home and abroad, and it depended in no small part on the ability of the government to deliver to its people a Yugoslav version of the Good Life, a modest and moderated but nonetheless satisfying approximation of the consumption-driven abundance that had remade the capitalist West in the years after the Second World War.

The emergent vision of a prosperous, humanized socialism, an ideal that I have termed the Yugoslav Dream, clearly had deep roots in the material, yet in ways that have not been fully recognized in the scholarly accounting of the life and death of Yugoslavia, it also depended on the reliable provision of *experiential* wealth.¹ In the construction of this sunnier version of socialism, opportunities for travel, tourism, and leisure were essentials.

Abundance, as translated and elaborated in what the communists liked to call the “specific circumstances of self-management socialism,” meant having a reasonable facsimile of the consumption-centered Good Life without having to work too hard for it. In the public ethos that permeated Yugoslav society through the comfortable times of the 1960s and 1970s, and even up through the pinched and disap-

¹ On the workings of consumerist abundance in Yugoslavia, see Patterson (2001). Unless otherwise noted, all translations from foreign languages in this article are my own.

pointing final years of the socialist federation, the superior living standards and purchasing power of the West were understood to have been bartered away in return for reduced work hours, diminished stress, increased security, and greater worker sovereignty. To many, this seemed a good trade.

Richness of experience thus enjoyed a real premium among Yugoslavs, and tourism and leisure were among the kinds of experiential wealth that counted most. These activities proved particularly important as domains in which both essential elements of the deal—enjoyable living and the freedom from burdensome work—were present at once. Indeed, the increasingly profound emphasis on tourism and leisure after the 1950s, seen in both the “high” and “popular” strata of Yugoslavia society, served to reinforce the common cultural norm that, to a great extent, enjoyable living *depended on* freedom from burdensome work. For ordinary Yugoslavs the payoff of their country’s distinctive socialist bargain meant the chance to consume tourism and leisure experiences at an increasingly high level of quality and service, one that had begun, in some instances at least, to approach the standards of other prime destinations that were likewise catering to the travelling populations of the developed capitalist world.

What did tourism do for Yugoslavia and its citizens? We are only now beginning to grapple with that problem—indeed, only now beginning to even recognize its importance—but at this point it is safe to venture some conclusions that will, if not resolving matters entirely, at least establish productive categories of analysis and point the way toward future inquiry.² Accordingly, my purpose in this essay is to interpret the main currents of the tourist experience in Yugoslavia in an integrative way that will suggest the most important answers to this question, answers that will be critical to the effort to dig below the too-easy findings of limitless division and near-certain doom to unearth a richer, more complicated—and truer—picture of the Yugoslav past.

² Representative examples of an earlier wave of scholarly analysis, with rather different concerns, include the useful overview of tourism patterns and related issues found in Stanković (1979), and in subsequent editions of that work. In English, the most sustained attention to Yugoslav tourism appeared in the work of Allcock; see, e.g., his excellent summary chapter (2001).

What tourism did, and might do again, is a matter of no small import for the post-Yugoslav present as well. With the violence of the past decade now remote enough in the minds of potential vacationers, the successor states of the fractured federation now seek to set their economies on a more even keel, and tourism once again looms as a possible key to restoring stability to the region. The most immediate benefits anticipated are economic, but the restoration of “successful” tourism also holds out the prospect of cultural developments that are, if less immediate and quantifiable, nonetheless real and meaningful: the continued cultivation of feelings of national unity, identity, and pride; the reclamation of a symbolically important place in “Europe” and its tourist market; the return of a sense of normalcy and business-as-usual; and even, for some at least, the coupling of a new option for a peaceful and prosperous future with a nostalgic recovery of those aspects of the past before the break-up and the wars, those happier days in the sun spent vacationing along with the many others who, as *naši turisti*—“our tourists,” or in other words, fellow Yugoslavs—flocked to “our” mountain resorts, “our” lakes, and “our” beaches along “our” Adriatic coast.

In this way the salvific promise of tourist traffic, so important to the hopes of socialist Yugoslavia, has once again appeared to its successors. Slovenia, which while part of Yugoslavia had sought to carve out its own distinctive identity with vacationers by marketing itself to tourists as a pleasant getaway “on the sunny side of the Alps” (*na sončni strani Alpe*), now attempts to evoke a similarly reassuring image of charm, good feeling, and peaceable amity by emphasizing graphically that the country’s very name includes the word “love.” Newly-independent Montenegro seeks to make a virtue out of comparative underdevelopment (while it lasts, that is) by exhorting visitors to “Experience Wild Beauty.” And Croatia’s National Tourist Board hopes to distinguish itself by promising “The Mediterranean As It Once Was,” using this marketing device to subtly occlude any mental reference to the Balkans or old Yugoslavia and instead latching on to the tried and true—and familiar, safe, depoliticized—allure of the Middle Sea.

In the Light of a Red Sun: Yugoslav Socialism and the History and Theory of Tourism

All these new experiments go forward in an environment of largely unfettered capitalist enterprise. The history of tourism and leisure in Yugoslavia *As It Once Was*, however, puts us squarely in a different context. For socialism implied a world in which the dynamics of modern tourism could not play out in accordance with market forces. This is not to suggest, of course, that even in other, more fully market-oriented settings there has been anything approaching a “pure” response to the messages of supply and demand. Markets matter, but values and culture continually intervene.

The capitalist experience, which has thus far provided so much of the basis of our theoretical and empirical understanding of how tourism functions, is certainly of real value when it comes to the study of travel and relaxation in Yugoslavia (or the USSR, the GDR, Cuba, or any socialist polity). It has, as the theorists assert, produced many of the most important attributes of modern tourism, and it has been a great engine of culture, a culture that can cross borders like the travelers who create and carry it. Moreover, the experience of a definitively capitalist species of leisure and leisure travel must figure prominently in the analysis of the Yugoslav record in any case because of the country’s unique positioning in the socialist world as a cheap and easy playground for the masses from the non-socialist countries. Western tourism, as it were, came to Yugoslavia along with the Western tourists. This market niche left Yugoslavs with a foot in both worlds, and it makes understanding tourism’s effects on the country’s development all the more difficult—and all the more important.

But there are real limits to the value of the lessons that may be derived from capitalist practice. Both at work and at play, in motion and at rest, communist rule and the socialist public ethos meant that the Yugoslav experience would be something unusual, with different circumstances, different values, different problems, and different constraints. And therein lies a great deal of the significance of the Yugoslav case for the historiography of leisure and travel more generally.

The present analysis focuses on internal dynamics: how tourism functioned in Yugoslavia and what it meant for Yugoslavs. It is critical

to recognize from the outset, however, that the history of tourism in this particular country operates simultaneously on three levels of conceptual abstraction, each of which is a function of geographic scale. Ultimately, the Yugoslav experience of leisure travel proves rich with implications not only for the historical, anthropological, sociological, and cultural analysis of Yugoslavia itself, but also for the state-socialist project more generally and, indeed, for conceptions that seek to understand tourism with reference to the broadest world-historical and trans-national frames of reference.

The very act of framing tourism as a prime feature of Yugoslavia's "sunny side" flies in the face of many of the anthropological, sociological, cultural-critical, and (to a lesser extent) historical approaches to tourist practice, treatments that have long tended, as Malcolm Crick has observed, to "contribute to the mounting condemnation of Third World tourism by intellectuals, church leaders, and radicals in the Third World itself, where images of disintegration, pollution, decay, and so on, abound."³ The conceptual emphases of tourism studies have evolved in the two decades since Crick identified this pervasive "negative stance," as has the vocabulary of international affairs—the Third World is renamed, the Second World is no more—but the prevailing conceptual and theoretical perspectives remain imbued to a large extent with the logic (and arguably the mission) of cultural, economic, and political critique.

Approaching the history of tourism under Yugoslav socialism as something "sunny"—inclusive, integrative, constructive, and on balance potentially positive—therefore threatens to turn the established paradigm on its head. Can it truly be safe and accurate to understand this as *good* tourism? Or does the historian here run the danger of succumbing to a specific strain of the *Jugonostalgija* that has made its way into more than a few hearts and minds since the dissolution of the old federation? Quite often, leisure travel in socialist Yugoslavia was indeed pleasurable, and thus the concern for maintaining critical scholarly detachment is perhaps all the greater for those of us who, whether as visitors from abroad or as *naši*, "ours," have an actual lived experience of this variety of tourism and socialism.

³ Crick (1989, p. 335).

But that much said, there are also good reasons to explore new interpretative paradigms and thus to keep some distance from the work that has already been done in tourism studies, if not from the dominant categories and conceptualizations themselves, then at least from the hermeneutics and conclusions that they have thus far engendered. The extant literature establishes many useful points of departure for the study of tourism in its local and world-historical dimensions. Shifting the focus to the specific features of socialist society and the way it evolved in Yugoslavia, however, quickly reveals how those readings hold the potential to lead us astray as well. This is an instance in which a neat transference of theories generated in the West and about the West will not suffice. We must be sensitive to how the particularities of the Yugoslav experience, and its similarities to other comparable cases, may enrich existing approaches and suggest needed revisions.

In many ways, of course, the idea of a “socialist tourism” is merely a convenient shorthand. There have been many different varieties of tourism under socialism.⁴ It is difficult, for instance, to find much in the Yugoslav record that corresponds to the highly regimented management of tourism in Stalinist holdovers like Albania and North Korea.⁵ The phenomenon is better understood as a continuum, one constructed with reference to such features as ideological management, freedom of movement for groups and individuals, engagement with citizens of non-communist societies, the character and extent of tourist attractions and accommodations, questions of scale, infrastructure, and the volume of tourist flows, and other similar considerations. On this spectrum, Yugoslavia sits at one end, with many of its modes and styles standing in sharp contrast to the contemporaneous practices of more restrictive polities such as China, Cuba, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany.⁶

⁴ There are signs of a new blossoming of interest in the deeper social, cultural, and political ramifications of socialist tourism. See, e.g., the contributions collected in Gorsuch and Koenker (2006), and in a special issue on “Tourism and travel in Russia and the Soviet Union” in *Slavic Review* 62/4 (Winter 2003).

⁵ See Hall (1990).

⁶ On the placement of socialist (or in China’s case, at least nominally communist) countries elsewhere on this continuum, see, e.g., Xiao (2006); Colantonio and Potter (2006).

Sunrise, Sunset: Tourism and the Transformation of Yugoslav Society

Viewed from a long-term, comparative standpoint, the striking facts about the history of tourism in Yugoslavia are its unusual appeal to Western visitors and its rapid and spectacular growth. This expansion resulted not just in the wide-ranging economic development that has formed the basis of the vast majority of Yugoslav scholarship,⁷ but complex and far-reaching social, cultural, and institutional changes as well, though these latter features have received far less attention. Even considered in the more familiar economic and demographic terms, however, it is clear that the course of tourist history in Yugoslavia was not without its ups and downs. Statistics indicate, for example, occasional times of downturn or stagnation,⁸ with a particularly bumpy period after 1973, following the economic shocks suffered by various developed capitalist countries, which suppressed demand.⁹

But the long-term trend line, at least in terms of hard-and-fast objective indicators, was upward. And the results “on the ground” were remarkable. Formerly sleepy and impoverished backwaters along the coast like Istria’s Poreč and Montenegro’s Budva and Ulcinj were remade into bustling centers of hospitality and commerce.¹⁰ In addition to the rapid relative rates of growth, the absolute numbers of travelers involved quickly reached high levels, and this mass quality of the tourist boom compounded its effects.

⁷ Reflecting the dominant concerns of an earlier era, the literature on the economics of tourism in Yugoslavia is immense; here only a few references to key texts must suffice. See, e.g., Slobodan Unković, *Ekonomika turizma*, 4th ed. (Belgrade: Savremena administracija, 1980); Ante Cicvarić, *Turizam i privredni razvoj Jugoslavije* (Zagreb: “Zagreb,” 1984); Neda Andrić, ed., *Turizam, značajan faktor društveno ekonomskog razvoja Jugoslavije* (Zagreb: Ekonomski pregled, 1977).

⁸ Here, as throughout this analysis, my general conclusions rest on a review of comprehensive statistical data on Yugoslav tourism. See Jakopović (n.d. [circa 1981]; 1978). Periodic updates were published in the official *Statistički bilten* (n.d.). See also *Jugoslavija 1918–1988* (1989).

⁹ Vodopivec (1983).

¹⁰ See Unković (1996); Vukonić and Tkalac (1984).

The character and distribution of the country's tourist development made for an overwhelming emphasis on the Adriatic, a pattern that appeared in both Yugoslav and foreign analyses produced from the 1950s through the 1980s. This tendency, while understandable, has masked the importance of domestic tourist flows and obscured important features and consequences of the tourist expansion. Yugoslav tourists moved around their own country to a remarkable extent. When they did so, their habits and motivations were complex, and they often travelled in modes and venues rather different from those of the foreigners' classic hotel-bound beach holiday. Fortunately, there are now signs of new interest in approaching Yugoslav tourism in more varied topical and geographic terms, moving farther afield to study the dynamics of day trips and excursions, visits to mountain, lake, and countryside districts all across the country, urban tourism, stays in spas and health resorts, and other forms.

A relative homogeneity of tone has compounded the narrowness of focus on the Adriatic. The tenor of contemporary scholarly commentary during the boom years, if not entirely uncritical with regard to the social and cultural impact of all this rapid change, was still in the main either quite positive or largely unconcerned. Occasionally, however, domestic and foreign observers did sound warnings about the potential for unwelcome outcomes. One group of Yugoslav authors in 1982, for instance, pointed out that the dislocations resulting from tourism's transformation of the country had resulted in "many deviations," an assortment of negative consequences "ranging from the loss of motivations for hard work through fast and often unearned accumulation of privately owned wealth to various criminal offences."¹¹

Despite such qualms, the prevailing outlook remained sanguine, even through the otherwise troubled times of the late 1970s and 1980s. (This fact alone should alert us to the significance of tourism in the broader sweep of Yugoslav history, as few aspects of life in the socialist federation proved so durable and managed to retain so favorable an interpretation in the face of the downturn.) The potential political implications of this pervasive understanding of tourism-as-success-story received relatively little attention at the time, but they are clear enough. Not simply one of the most resilient features of the Yugoslav

¹¹ Hitrec et al. (1982, p. 13).

economy, tourism also functioned in many ways as an arena for the delivery of Yugoslav socialism. Party and state leaders and others informed by a Marxist sensibility treated it as a method of rewarding workers, as a tool for promoting egalitarianism and fighting class differentiation, as a means of propagandizing the benefits of the distinctive Yugoslav system and promoting the image of the communist-led state as the ultimate benefactor, and in a more limited way, as a technique for creating and bolstering socialist mass culture rooted in social solidarity and the recognition of labor.

There were, to be sure, certain significant points of correspondence between the socialist understanding of the relationship between tourism and work and the approaches encountered outside the communist sphere. As Ellen Furlough has noted, the governments of France and a number of other countries with market-based economies sought at various times during the twentieth century to cultivate forms of “social tourism” that would reinforce the bonds between labor and leisure and sever the old associations between tourism and aristocratic and bourgeois culture.¹² With time, however, and especially in the absence of left-leaning governments like those of Léon Blum’s Popular Front, the practice of the developed capitalist countries has tended to relinquish such deliberate and explicitly reciprocal linkages of work and play, drifting toward a more commercial model that vaunts the pleasure of tourism as an end in itself, as Furlough suggests happened in France itself.

Notwithstanding such occasional resemblances, Marxist-Leninist practice established what was in many ways a different framework for the development of tourist practice. Communist societies were fundamentally, and explicitly, ideological societies. In the public ethos of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, tourism thus received a direct and unapologetic socio-political gloss. Accordingly, those who embraced the values of Yugoslav socialism—and lest we forget, there were many—understood the expansion and democratization of leisure opportunities to have special significance for their society. In daily life among ordinary citizens, this might translate into an enjoyment of the leisure-time opportunities of the self-management system and an acknowledgment of the party-state’s role in securing and extending

¹² Furlough (1993).

those benefits, whereas among members of elite groups, the linkage between tourism and the specifically socialist dimensions of contemporary labor practice was framed more explicitly. Given such associations, the relationship between leisure and what an older, more politically-focused body of scholarship typically summed up as the communists' "legitimacy" presents a promising area for future research, although mass sentiments, a critical component here, are notoriously elusive and especially difficult to document in communist societies.

For decades, Yugoslav public discourse held out a proud and optimistic view of what had been and could be accomplished through the marriage of socialist ideals with expanding leisure opportunities. In this vein one group of experts, writing in 1982, stressed the need to subject tourism to what they saw as a Marxist impulse toward humanizing the social relations that had come to typify the industrial (or post-industrial) configuration of the global economy: "liberated labor," these specialists argued, "implies liberated leisure together with its dynamic diversification," and thus they looked toward a future remade on the basis of socialist values, one in which industrialization across the planet would make mass tourism more common and bring it to new, hitherto "underdeveloped" societies, and in which "the information revolution and a 'general comprehension' of the individual will rid it of the associations with consumer symbols, profit-motivated manipulation and social and spatial segregation of tourists."¹³

Sentiments like these on the positive, transformative power of tourism were echoed in Yugoslav public discourse for decades. As another commentator wrote during the early phases of her country's economic and leisure-travel boom, the conditions of modern industrial civilization had fundamentally altered the character of tourism, rendering it commonplace and thus a potential instrument of social harmony and solidarity, and at the same time eroding the cultural significance that tourism had held in the pre-industrial socio-economic order, when it had remained "a rare thing of luxury and curiosity, an exclusive privilege of the aristocracy, with a strong emphasis on individuality."¹⁴

Socialism set out to erase that old order. It offered the prospect of changing the former rules, establishing a new egalitarian order of leisure

¹³ Andrić et al. (1982, pp. 2, 3–4).

¹⁴ Ružijer (1963, p. 66).

and, in the process, valorizing work itself. Moreover, because the Marxist-Leninist state was so powerful, the fact of socialist governance made available especially powerful tools and held out especially tempting prospects for a tourism that would advance broader social and political agendas.

Significantly, the evidence available at this comparatively early stage in the historiography of socialist tourism suggests that Yugoslavia's party and state apparatus pursued such an explicitly instrumentalist tourist policy with rather less zeal and consistency than did most other European communist states. Yet even in the ideologically loose, market-modified Yugoslav milieu, the public face of socialist society revolved around a concern for labor and production. The resultant differences between socialist tourism and the practices that developed in capitalist economies were profound. In work grounded in the capitalist context, leading theoretical contributors have concluded that a desire to move to "elsewhere," to enter a "sacred" space apart from the world of the familiar, has been a powerful, perhaps even dominant, impulse in the tourist enterprise.¹⁵ Under socialism, some such motivations were no doubt present as well. Yet Marxism's overriding concern with the world of work conferred a rather different function on the time that Yugoslavs spent on leisure travel: citizens might indeed commune with the anti-quotidian while on holiday, but the constant joinder of work and play in the socialist conceptualization could minimize or at least temporarily interfere with that departure from the ordinary, serving as a reminder that the only reliable source of tourism and its joys was the ineluctable regime of labor. Moreover, to the extent that they were engaging in domestic tourism, as was so often the case in communist countries, the enjoyment of leisure opportunities was framed for socialist citizens in a way that made the break from work not so much a sampling of the mysteries of "elsewhere" but an confirmation of the pleasures of "here." No less importantly, the communists' approach placed the government itself in the crosshairs, setting it up for credit or blame depending on the public's satisfaction, or lack thereof, with the variety and quality of tourism experience that the socialist order could manage to offer.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Graburn (1977); Baranowski and Furlough (2001); Löfgren (1999).

Another Tourist Trap? Socialist Leisure as Reward and Entitlement

As a consequence of the heavy continuing emphasis on labor, the tourism undertaken by Yugoslavs in their own country was regularly represented in the public ethos as an explicit matter of rewarding worthy socialist workers for a job well done. Beyond establishing the state and party as the ultimate benefactors of this important element of the Good Life, the cultivation of a tourist practice that embodied the typical Marxist-Leninist preference for tourism-as-reward also had the effect of constructing a dominant conception of Yugoslav leisure travelers that was firmly grounded in their activities as “vacationers” (or in British parlance, “holiday-makers”). In the lexica of Yugoslav politicians, specialists, academics, and ordinary citizens, the blanket term *turisti* typically covered travelers moving in a variety of modes, and for a variety of motivations. But the image central to the public understanding and representation of domestic tourism was one of citizens indulging in well-earned, restorative leisure.

As a species of socialist practice, Yugoslav domestic tourism thus stands in marked contrast to the conceptualizations of leading theorists who have worked from a largely capitalist base in which typically the West visits the Rest. Such approaches focus to a great extent on the importance of “sightseeing” and on what has happened when comparatively prosperous travelers come into contact with comparatively deprived “others.”¹⁶ Yugoslav tourists engaged in their share of sightseeing in their own country, to be sure, but the social and economic distance between them and their fellow-Yugoslav hosts was radically diminished by the communist context, and what we know thus far suggests that their activities typically lacked the heavy overtones of a dominating, even “imperial” tourist “gaze” that so marks the literature of tourism theory.¹⁷

¹⁶ See, e.g., MacCannell (1989 [1976]); Ryan (2002); Rojek and Urry (1997).

¹⁷ Of course, such issues could arise from the visits of Westerners to comparatively poor Yugoslavia. For the tendency to find lingering “imperial” habits in the activities of foreign tourists, see, e.g., Nash (2001). See also Smith and Brent (2001); Urry (2002).

To a far greater extent, Yugoslav domestic tourism was about relaxation, fun, and restoration. Indeed, the concept of “rest” functions much more prominently in the Yugoslav experience (and, by all indications, in the state-socialist tourist experience more generally) than is usually the case in the tourist historiographies of most other venues. Yugoslav workers’ resorts, for example, were conventionally referred to as *odmarališta*, literally “places for resting,” a term closely related to the word *odmor*, which signifies not just “vacation” but also “rest” or “pause.” Yugoslav socialism lent this fundamental notion of repose even more significance, as it continually stressed the idea that vacations were essentially a form of experiential compensation for the labor they had poured into the larger social(ist) enterprise. It was in this spirit, for example, that the Yugoslav constitution of 1963 declared paid holidays to be a workers’ right, pairing the annual vacation (*odmor*) with the guarantee of daily and weekly periods of rest (*odmor*).¹⁸

The bargain embedded in such social and legal arrangements worked both ways. Vacations were supposed to be good for production, too. The implicit obligations of the Marxist-Leninist version of the social contract were therefore never far from view. As the Central Committee of the Federation of Labor Unions of Yugoslavia reminded its audience in 1968, in the context of a syndicalist campaign for improved financing and utilization of leisure resources, the guaranteed vacation entailed “not only a right but also a duty of every employed person to take advantage of it as completely as possible for recreation and new creativity in the workplace and in everyday life.”¹⁹

There were, however, certain potential dangers in the cultivation of this vision of tourism-as-reward. Over time, a populace that had grown accustomed to leisure and tourism offerings as a form of compensation might seek a renegotiation of the implicit *quid pro quo*. Seiz-

¹⁸ The law in effect during the heyday of Yugoslav economic expansion provided: “The worker has the right to daily and weekly rest and, in conditions determined by law, to paid yearly vacation lasting at least fourteen working days.” Ustav SFRJ, 1963, article 37. With the Constitution of 1974, the length of the guaranteed vacation was increased to eighteen working days. Ustav SFRJ, 1974, article 162.

¹⁹ Centralno veće Saveza sindikata Jugoslavije, *Odmor i rekreacija* (1968, p. 9).

ing on the idea that tourist travel was fundamentally a right—communist notions of law, it should be remembered, almost invariably fused rights with duties, but citizens sometimes ignored the pairing—the public could transform the existing arrangement into an expectation or even a demand, following a pattern evident in European tourism more generally.²⁰ In other words, what had been put forward as an *earned* reward could come to be viewed as a simple *entitlement*.

Shaped by both improving economic circumstances at home and a nagging awareness of how much those domestic conditions still lagged behind Western Europe, the socialist public's rising hopes and new expectations set standards that proved difficult to meet. As Richard Bessel has noted, "the inhabitants of Dresden and Prague wanted the same leisure and travel opportunities which their cousins in Düsseldorf and Vienna enjoyed."²¹ But by and large, for economic, ideological, and "security" reasons, those opportunities would not be forthcoming. On this count, however, Yugoslavia broke ranks with its socialist kindred, and it did so in a striking and lasting way. After the relaxations on travel abroad in the early 1960s, Yugoslavs could and did become avid foreign travelers. They prided themselves on having the most valuable passports in Europe, that is, those with the fewest visa requirements, and as finances permitted, they were able to venture out into the West, and beyond. This unique flexibility became, in turn, another positive entry on the balance sheet of the Yugoslav system, another reward that the regime could afford to grant its resourceful workers and loyal citizens. Still, some of the accrued credit may well have been cancelled out by lessons learned and tastes acquired through contacts with Westerners and the West. There are thus good reasons to press forward with cultural-historical studies that will seek to establish just what Yugoslavs brought back—literally and figuratively—when they went to the West,²² and likewise what the "capitalist" summertime hordes left behind in Yugoslavia besides their lire, schillings, and Deutsche Marks. The presence, year after year, of so many comparatively wealthy foreigners suggests the possibility of strong "demonstration effects" that re-shaped Yugoslav culture and changed expectations about political and economic policy.

²⁰ Bessel (2000, p. 249).

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 249–50.

²² See, e.g., Bracewell (2006); Švab (2002).

A Dream Home Built on Sand? Tourism and the Construction of Yugoslav Culture

A consideration of Yugoslavs' self-understanding as travelers and as hosts should lead us toward a deeper recognition of tourism's role in the construction of culture, i.e., its capacity to express and transmit commonly-held attitudes, ideas, beliefs, values, norms, and identities. The connections between leisure travel and the rich variety of cultures and subcultures that socialist Yugoslavia sustained throughout its existence should be obvious enough. Students, families, singles, workers, professionals and administrators, communists and old Partisans, the young, the old, men, women, cross-border shoppers and traders—all these groups, and others, could form the basis of specific tourist practices and subcultures, and the specific dimensions of their leisure activities are now beginning to find a deserved place in the historiography of the socialist federation. I would suggest, however, that it is also worth venturing farther, and in a different direction, to explore how tourism may ultimately have functioned as one of the most important mechanisms for constructing not just a constellation of cultural groupings within Yugoslavia, but also, even if only partially and imperfectly, a “Yugoslav culture” itself.

In this respect, tourism served once again as a means for delivering the Yugoslav socialist program, this time in its capacity to construct a vision of the Yugoslav federation as a common home, as “our” country—an idea that emphasized Yugoslavia *as such*, as opposed to its constituent territories. The tantalizing prospect of such cultural and political benefits was certainly common enough in Yugoslav officialdom and among those who shared its perspectives. Along these lines, to offer just one representative example, a commentator on tourist advertising observed approvingly in 1968 that the promotion of tourism could serve not just to build foreigners' interest in Yugoslavia, but also contribute to “the mutual awareness and the continuing process of coming together among the peoples [*narodi*] within our country [...] that reinforces unity and accelerates the process of the mutual ideological integration of our peoples.”²³

²³ Vukanović (1968, p. 79).

These were high hopes. In retrospect they may seem unrealistic. Nevertheless, the sentiment was familiar to Yugoslavs at the time, and the underlying urge to use tourism as a means of forging a cohesive national-political community was one common to state-socialist practice. Patriotic, national-minded tourism was no communist monopoly, of course. But Marxist-Leninist governance gave the state especially powerful tools to intervene in the creation of public culture in order to promote loyalty and solidarity.²⁴

With regard to these particular questions, however, the leaders of the multiethnic Yugoslav federation had some special and more difficult work to do. Some of the efforts involved a more or less explicit, managed instrumentalization of tourism along the lines of *bratstvo i jedinstvo*, the habitual invocation of the “brotherhood and unity” of the Yugoslav peoples that was the touchstone of communist rhetoric about interethnic relations. Occasionally, tourism projects and tourism management served as an arena for the Yugoslav federal project, and as ways of teaching and encouraging Yugoslav citizens to think of the entire country as their own. In their study of the work undertaken during the first decade of Yugoslav socialism to freshen up and reinterpret the Bašćaršija, Sarajevo’s charming Ottoman-era core, for public consumption, Dijana Alić and Maryam Gusheh have noted that the planners took care to strengthen the new federation’s claim to represent all its constituent peoples, offering up an image in which “the presence of all religious institutions preserved as ‘sparkling jewels of the past’ enabled the reading of Bašćaršija as a place where all cultures and religions were united.”²⁵ Through this retrieval and reconfiguration of the Bosnian past, “[t]ourists and visitors to the ‘new’ Čaršija were presented with an exceptional opportunity for seeing the places of worship of the main religious faiths in close proximity to each other, giving the impression that the socialist theme of brotherhood and unity was based on solid cultural foundations.”²⁶

Such programmatic interventions into public culture and public history are familiar enough to any historian of communism, and they

²⁴ On the connections between tourism and patriotism in the USSR, see Gorsuch (2003). A revealing study of the construction of national identity through tourism in the capitalist context is Shaffer (2001).

²⁵ Alić and Gusheh (1999, p. 18).

²⁶ Ibid.

are sprinkled around generously in the history of Yugoslav tourism. But a sensitive attention to everyday life and the habits of ordinary travelers on holiday suggests that there was another more spontaneous, and perhaps more genuine, manner in which tourism could serve to build a common home, through the mixing of people from across the country at vacation sites represented in the public ethos as “ours.”

Like their engagement in a surprisingly potent culture of consumer(ist) satisfaction that was billed and understood as the product of “our” distinctive political and economic system with its happy blend of East and West, Yugoslavs’ participation in domestic and foreign leisure travel had the potential to function as one of the comparatively rare mass experiences with a positive pan-Yugoslav cultural valence. When Yugoslav citizens crossed the border, they left as *Yugoslavs*, travelling on the federation’s passports, and they had reason to know that it was the federal government’s popular strategy of situating the country as *nešto između*, “something in between,” that had given them a freedom unique in the communist camp. When they frequented their country’s own popular tourist sites, they shared a collection of locales that were represented in the public discourse of domestic tourism as Yugoslav destinations available to all Yugoslavs—destinations that were, importantly, marketed as such by tourist businesses, on a country-wide basis. Slovenia’s ski resorts and the coastline of Croatia and Montenegro could therefore be, in a real sense, *naši*, “ours,” like the visitors from across the country who gathered there. This is not to suggest that Yugoslavs, whether as hosts or guests, were blind to the ethno-national composition of the tourist throngs. But at the same time, we need to acknowledge that despite the obvious distinctions at play, a Serbian party’s stay at the Croatian seaside or a family’s journey from “developed” Slovenia to remote and “wild” Montenegro could still be, in meaningful ways, a visit to “us.”

In such respects, tourism in Yugoslavia evolved differently from what the prevailing scholarly conceptualizations of tourism, with their recurrent focus on the visitors’ distance from and presumed superiority to their hosts, might lead us to expect.²⁷ Rather than aggressively seeking out the primitively exotic, Yugoslav citizens who engaged

²⁷ For an interpretation that acknowledges the multivalence and complexity of host-guest relations, see Furlough (1993).

in their country's archetypal vacation experience, the holiday on the Adriatic, were visiting an expanse of natural beauty that was, at the same time, very much—and very consciously—a site of development, economic renewal, trans-national and inter-ethnic cultural contact, and cosmopolitanism. The journey to the coast was, in other words, as much a visit to modernity as it was an escape to gorgeous rocky beaches, inviting waters, and captivating islands. Yugoslavs on the Adriatic could, to be sure, “get away from it all” on a strip of nearly-deserted beach, but they could just as easily enjoy the modern pleasures of hotels, restaurants, cafes, nightclubs, boutiques, cinemas, and a full-fledged tourist “scene” that mixed locals with visitors from the rest of the country and with a wide variety of Western travelers. In so doing, Yugoslavs could find an important confirmation of their own modernity, securing their status as members of the same international tourist economy that sent the Germans, Italians, Austrians, and British. For Yugoslavs, and not just for those from lesser-developed parts of the country, the beach trip could carry the symbolic charge of a sojourn in the best of “Europe.”

Nor does the record disclose much evidence of a tourism based on gawking at the “primitives within.” (Even through the 1980s, Yugoslavia could have provided plenty of raw material for such an approach, and not only in the lagging south and east). Styles that edged toward this sort of presentation did turn up from time to time, to be sure. We encounter them, for example, in the commodification of traditional national costumes, festivals, music, and dance that occurred across the country as well as in the re-packaging of the Ottoman legacy in Bosnian towns such as Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik, and Višegrad. The peculiar, slightly discordant strains of the one-stringed *gusle*, a fixture in “folkloric” tourist presentations in the southern parts of the country, were anything but the sound of modernity.

The encounter with tradition and history has been, naturally enough, one of the most common investigative concerns of the contemporary scholarly engagement with tourism.²⁸ These issues figure no less importantly in socialist tourism as well, and in Yugoslav tourism in particular, yet here once again, the Marxist-Leninist context meant

²⁸ See, e.g., MacCannell (1989 [1976], pp. 82–9); Graburn (2001).

that the cultural work of tourism would go forward in a distinctive way. Socialism made for an odd, uncomfortable relationship with tradition and history, generating uncertainty about just which parts of the past could be safely retrieved and valorized as acceptable objects of tourist consumption. Some features, of course, simply proved unsimilable.

“Tradition” by its very nature calls forth the idea of a continuity that not only has been but should be preserved in a form that is, in a fictive sense at least, essentially unbroken. Marxist-Leninist public culture, in contrast, proceeded from an inherently revolutionary view of history, meaning that *discontinuity* would be not just emphasized, but powerfully favored as well. In the absence of some sophisticated exercises in rationalization or delusion, what could be celebrated as “traditional” in socialist tourism thus needed to be suitably innocuous.

Options were limited. One way around these difficulties in socialist tourism was to de-fang the old regimes by presenting the visual reminders of their former power as, in essence, museum pieces—not as relics for veneration, but rather as the benign (and harmlessly preserved) remnants of an age now safely past. Such was the treatment, for instance, given to the Hradčany castle district in Prague, where the Bohemian kings and archbishops held their seats and President T.G. Masaryk steered the liberal interwar republic. Under the communist government, the hilltop complex took on an air of hollowed-out *grandeur passée*: beautifully preserved, certainly, but in the end impotent, empty, and meaningful precisely for having been superseded. With their characteristic earnestness, communist governments were never much enthused about irony, so the vestiges of the bad old days typically were not held up for a humorous sort of distancing, as has happened elsewhere, for example, with the prominent display of pillories and stocks for the punishment of criminals, long one of the *de rigueur* photo opportunities for visitors to the preserved and reconstructed colonial towns and villages in the United States.

Faced with a troublesome relationship to the past, and equipped with few good solutions, those who managed and marketed Yugoslav tourist offerings evidently tried to steer clear of the difficulties, either avoiding references to the problematic aspects of the country’s history or presenting them in a neutral, sterilized way so as to minimize the apparent conflict with the values of the communist, multi-ethnic pub-

lic ethos. That tendency intensified as the Titoist venture matured, and a light-handed, non-dogmatic (or at least less dogmatic) approach became one of the hallmarks of Yugoslav communism. With Yugoslavia's socialist foundations more secure and more popular in the 1960s and 1970s, it became less necessary to stress the revolutionary rupture with the past. Producers of cultural materials for the tourist industry could take advantage of the more relaxed political climate to, in effect, scale back the revolutionary rhetoric, and so the prescriptive literature of tourism in Yugoslavia (guidebooks, brochures, travel magazines, and similar materials) frequently appeared with a less overtly propagandistic tone and content than analogous materials from, for example, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany.

To be sure, some tourist sites—and even some popular ones—were suffused with explicit politics. We cannot discount, for instance, the undeniable appeal of Tito's birthplace in the village of Kumrovec, the destination of countless officially-sponsored pilgrimages and mandatory school outings and, at the same time, a shrine that elicited massive and evidently genuine outpourings of emotion.²⁹ But viewed in the aggregate, such venues played a comparatively limited role.

To the extent that members of the public were inclined to ignore any prescribed celebrations of socialist achievement in their tourist itineraries—and the record suggests that often enough they did so, voting with their feet—such choices suggest a psychological distancing from communism whereby the Partisan monuments and other sites tied up with the communists' mission were viewed as comparatively inauthentic, while the seaside and similar, more purely diversionary destinations were treated as "real" tourism. Our understanding of the dynamics of travel and leisure in the country remains too limited at this point to speak with conviction about how these obvious tensions were managed and resolved, but it is certain that tourism's power to create and transmit culture, and thus to strengthen or undermine the idea of a common Yugoslav home built on socialist values, should be an important focus of future efforts to chart the history of politics, society, and everyday life in the communist era.

²⁹ See Mathiesen Hjemdahl and Škrbić Alempijević (2006). As a common Yugoslav pursuit born of both compulsion and allure, the familiar youth excursion to the Kumrovec shrine figures prominently in Serbian director Goran Marković's satirical 1992 film *Tito i ja* ("Tito and Me").

A Normal Country, Almost: Tourism and the Limits of Communist Power

As the foregoing discussion makes plain, the context of communist governance raises the question of the role of the state in a particularly powerful and inevitable way for the historiography of tourism. Even in the wake of longstanding efforts at *de-étatisation* in the name of self-management, the Yugoslav state remained involved in many aspects of the management and oversight of tourism, often more so than would have been the case in a non-socialist country.³⁰ Yet a note of caution is also in order here, as there were important ways in which tourism eluded effective state power.

Problems of this sort have become particularly meaningful in the study of socialism as it has struggled to break free from Cold War paradigms that too often posited a rigid state-society distinction and treated ordinary citizens as nearly passive objects of government policy. Many of the most important questions remain to be answered, and the tourist practices seen in Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the communist world can form a rich empirical base for re-examining the boundaries—and the blurring of the boundaries—between states and citizens, between the much-scrutinized public sphere and the little-known private dimensions of socialist life.

In much the same way, an inquiry into the workings of socialist tourism quickly runs up against concerns about the proper interpretation of historical agency that have figured so prominently in recent historiography. The attempt to develop an understanding of socialism that would acknowledge the significance of the plebeian and the everyday raises tough questions: Whom should we recognize as the subjects of Yugoslav tourism? What were the consequences of their actions? How did the efforts of ordinary citizens intersect with, and diverge

³⁰ By the time the country's tourism entered its mature phase, the government was regularly involved in a variety of important domains: planning tourist development on a national scale; building material infrastructure; training cadres; providing an organizational support structure for the tourist economy; promoting tourism through advertising; intervening in ongoing tourist operations and financing (*privređivanje*); monitoring the results of tourist commerce; and maintaining a legislative and regulatory structure. Cicvarić (1980, p. 125).

from, those of the party and its officials? With these problems in mind, we need to differentiate between the history-making and culture-creating practices of a variety of significant actors, including (though this is hardly an exhaustive list) individuals, families, groups of friends, student clubs, business enterprises and labor associations, voluntaristic organizations and other forms of civil society, and, of course, the never-too-distant state. Here once again the necessary research agenda is clear enough, but largely incomplete.

The expansion of tourism in modern society has resulted in the democratization of the tourist enterprise and the proliferation of tourists and tourist experiences, but at the same time, perhaps paradoxically, it has created the potential for the standardization and homogenization of tourist experience as well. The subject of much commentary (and much criticism) in the literature of tourism studies, the mass nature of modern tourist pursuits was something that the socialist public ethos welcomed enthusiastically, and not just in Yugoslavia. In the communist environment, this mass quality, *masovnost*, implied more than simply popular engagement on a grand scale, open to all. Rather, the vast extent of potential public involvement in tourism appeared to Marxist managers, social critics, and interested politicians as an opportunity for channeling tourism's *masovnost* into *kolektivnost*, using the ways and means of leisure travel as a technique for building social solidarity through collective action. In the end, however, Yugoslavia's option for an unusual variant of socialism meant that the emphasis on collectivity as a *bonum per se* would figure less prominently than in other communist lands and would subside with the passage of time.

The new, popular face of tourism in Yugoslavia was profoundly shaped by contemporary systems of consumption and urbanization, and likewise by the ongoing re-organization of work and play. Responding to these developments, Irina Ružijer in 1963 remarked optimistically on the emergence of a kind of tourism that "corresponds to the contemporary person and to the times in which we live," one in which "the mass movements of tourism had acquired a completely democratic expression, posing at the same time the unavoidable demand that they be organized."³¹ Such calls for the intensive organization of leisure-time activities point to another distinctive emphasis of the

³¹ Ružijer (1965, p. 66).

tourist problematic in communist countries: travel and leisure were understood, as a natural consequence of the prevailing ethos, as something to be managed. In principle at least, tourism was an arena for not just economic but also political, social, and cultural policy intervention. This approach held sway even in unorthodox Yugoslavia. Notwithstanding the continual celebration of de-centralization and the rational choices of the self-managing workers' enterprise, Yugoslavia's politicians and administrators remained ill disposed to let the invisible hand of markets do the organizing. The planning impulse died hard – or rather, it never fully died out at all.

The preference for planned and carefully managed tourism persisted throughout the history of the socialist federation, and it was accompanied by a perception, shared widely among the experts, that the country's tourism was not planned and managed *enough*. There was, many observers felt, a disturbing *ad hoc* quality to it all.

Most of the clamor for more and better planning, like most of the worry over tourism more generally, centered on economic issues.³² There were, however, occasional urges to extend the planning process to other spheres as well, as seen, for example, in complaints that “the broad and long-term social and land-use [*prostorni*] implications” of tourism had been subordinated to the economic in a decidedly “secondary role,” and that such important concerns were “more or less left to the vicissitudes of the spontaneous process of tourist development.”³³

In the face of all this yearning for management and control, it is perhaps surprising that the Yugoslav communist authorities ended up doing relatively little to shape the *content* of the tourist experience. This represents a fairly dramatic departure from the practice of other East European socialist polities, where leisure and travel tended to be more heavily managed with an eye to ideological and cultural conse-

³² One research team, for example, argued for a long-term effort to reform pricing policy on the basis of “scientific identification of the real needs for tourist recreation,” suggesting that such approaches would enable Yugoslavia “to close the gap between the existing subjective and often erroneous assumptions as regards recreational needs and *the objective knowledge and actual needs*.” Andrić et al. (1982, p. 12; emphasis in original).

³³ Antunac et al. (1979, p. 165).

quences: guidebook writers, official brochures, personal guides, and even the choice of offerings of the state-sponsored tour group enterprises all typically sought to steer tourists toward experiences that would reinforce socialist values, or at the very least not pose direct challenges to them. A striking fact about the way in which the Yugoslav scene developed is that in its mature phases it involved comparatively little effort to tell people, as Soviet historian Diane Koenker has put it, “what to look for and how to see.”³⁴ Early on, with the emergence of mass leisure travel in the first decade or so after the communists’ ascent to power, the framers of the new social order did indeed attempt to mould tourist consciousness in more conscious, explicit, and unapologetic ways.³⁵ With time, however, and especially after the late 1950s and early 1960s, the pattern of practice shifted. The Yugoslav state concentrated increasingly on efforts to meet the need for tourist services and to encourage further demand, but once having done so, it tended to get out of the way to a remarkable extent.

Visits to inescapably political tourist sites like the Partisan shrines and war memorials remained, naturally enough, a much more managed affair, and the prescriptive messaging that took place with respect to destinations of this nature was much more explicit and much more consistent. But the action was where the money was, and the money was where the foreigners congregated. Typically, though not exclusively, that meant the Adriatic. Yugoslavia’s seacoast and other prime domestic tourist destinations were, at the same time, key destinations for visitors from abroad, and in the main, the Yugoslav regime did not seek to bombard foreign tourists with a propagandistic tourist experience that would bring political questions to the fore. Because ordinary Yugoslavs consumed tourism in these hotspots in many of the same ways as did their foreign counterparts, they were likewise spared an overtly politicized experience. To be sure, the state and the party were keenly concerned with developments in the chief tourist zones. But the engagement tended to focus on matters of infrastructure, land use, finance, and economic planning, while the cultural content of tourism got comparatively short shrift.

³⁴ Koenker (2003, p. 659).

³⁵ On these earlier efforts to engineer “holidays on command” see, e.g., the contributions of Duda and Popović in this volume; cf. Duda (2005).

As a result, for both Yugoslavs and foreigners the experience of life as a leisure traveler could often go forward without any strong collective, state-sponsored, managed quality. Participation in tourist activities tended to be a more genuinely individual and private matter, making this domain all the more important as one that, in some key respects, lay beyond effective state control. The ethos of self-management socialism was celebrated for its lighter, less intrusive touch, and in many ways justly so, but it still was usually present in the everyday lives of ordinary Yugoslavs. It shaped the culture of the office, the school, the factory floor, and even the shopping experience. Tourist travel offered some possibility of a getaway, however limited. Workers baking on the beach at Hvar, families camping near the Plitvice Lakes, office clerks holed up in a ski lodge in Kopaonik, and students dancing in the discos of Portorož after a day in the sun all could, in ways that were finite but nonetheless real and meaningful, put themselves temporarily beyond the reach of state messaging.

Viewed from a distance and in comparative terms, the salient fact is that the Yugoslav leadership allowed the annual tourist pilgrimages to go forward with so little ideological intervention into the nature of the experiences that citizens would share once they had set out on their travels. This easy touch suggests the possibility that the regime had decided, or at least understood, that the most valuable “lesson” about the virtues of Yugoslavia’s distinctive version of socialism was precisely that it could be so distinctively nondidactic, uninsistent, and “normal.” At present, however, it remains unclear whether such departures from the ideological may in fact be attributed to a conscious choice on the part of communist leaders and policymakers.

Sojourn in the Promised Land or Vacation from Reality? Tourism and the Fate of the Socialist Experiment

Given how important the state was to tourism under socialism—and even under Yugoslav socialism—we must wonder how important tourism was to the state. One key to this inquiry is the reciprocal relationship between the remarkable expansion of leisure, travel, and tourism opportunities and the concurrent development of the consumption-based vision of good living that I have called the Yugoslav Dream. To be sure, the freedom to indulge in tourism and travel was at

the heart of a vision of the Good Life that privileged relaxation (*razonodda*), fun and entertainment (*zabava*), leisure (*dokolica*), and rest (*odmor*). But tourism, and specifically foreign tourism with its function as an in-country “export,” played a critical role in stimulating economic growth and thereby creating much of the wealth that allowed the realization of both the material and experiential aspects of the Yugoslav Dream. For many parts of Yugoslavia, economic prosperity was what made the country’s experience of socialism sunnier than most, and there is considerable evidence to suggest that the “sunny side” of Yugoslavia was created and sustained in no small measure through the economic contributions of tourism development. It is clear that without the flowering of tourism that took place in the 1960s and 1970s, Yugoslavia would have been a very different place indeed, and the prospects for communist leadership may well have been much more limited.

In light of such apparent successes, we should wonder about the effects of tourism policy on the popularity and perceived legitimacy of the Yugoslav government. The issue is one with obvious implications not just for Yugoslavia, but for the history of socialism more generally as well. Indeed, as one of the signal distinctions between East and West, the persistent “travel gap” likely had profound consequences for the communist project. As Richard Bessel has noted in his grand-scale treatment of contemporary European society, “the inadequacies of travel for eastern Europeans—restrictions on international travel especially to the West, the lack of convertible currency, the difficulties facing anyone who preferred individual travel to organized group activities—helped to undermine the socialist regimes in the eyes of their populations.”³⁶ By the same token, there is good reason to imagine that the Yugoslav communists’ achievements in minimizing the travel gap and delivering the rewards of satisfying tourism to their citizens may have worked in precisely the opposite direction, bolstering support for socialism. But things could have worked differently: with their ability to sample life in the West freely, some Yugoslavs may have developed a heightened awareness that the socialist version of the Good Life remained inferior to what might be expected in the lands of

³⁶ Bessel (2000, p. 249–50).

“developed capitalism.” Or both dynamics could have been present at once, with countervailing effects. Capitalism, of course, could more readily accommodate the exaltation of consumption that tourism has so often encouraged and, at the same time, embodied. For socialist societies, however, the shift to consumer satisfaction as a marker of individual and societal well-being remained a matter of great unease, and this proved true even for market-friendly Yugoslavia, which for a time at least could play the game with good results.

While tourism and leisure activities are themselves an important form of consumption in contemporary society, they have often proved harder to recognize as such, especially to non-specialists. This “masked” quality of tourism *qua* consumption, and the emphasis on experiential wealth as opposed to the purely material, helped insulate the socialist order to some extent against the more obvious (and odious) manifestations of consumerism. There were, moreover, powerful incentives to elevate the importance of experience, and thus the place of tourism and leisure. Given the state’s continued cushioning of the economy against the forces of the market, Yugoslav society was not one that depended on the relentless pursuit of productivity. There was, in other words, time to spare. The very real limitations of the socialist economy meant that the material rewards of the Yugoslav Dream repeatedly ran into firm upper bounds. Consumers’ purchasing power was finite, and even with policies that favored salary increases and bonuses funded by borrowing and the payout of enterprise profits, there were constraints on how much workers could be paid, and thus on what they could afford. But since time was a less precious commodity, there was more latitude when it came to the provision of experiential wealth. Time could be given more freely, and it was. Because it fit well with the larger structural logics of the Yugoslav political and economic system, tourism thus fed into and helped solidify a larger culture of ease that marked Yugoslav society, a culture with its own distinctive cost-benefit calculus.

In the midst of so much talk about abundance and commonwealth, we must recognize that the patterns of tourist consumption also had some potential to undercut cross-ethnic loyalties to Yugoslavia as a shared home and to strengthen the sense that there were “haves” and “have-nots” in what was supposed to be a thoroughly egalitarian country. Not everyone could afford to spend time in the better hotels or

command a *vikendica*, one of the vacation homes that became a common aspiration and a prominent symbol of the Good Life. In addition, there were persistent problems in realizing a rational and equitable use of vacation time and tourist infrastructure. In 1968, for example, the governing body of the Federation of Labor Unions of Yugoslavia complained that not enough workers were taking the vacations to which they were entitled, preferring instead to work overtime for extra pay or to otherwise engage in activities that did not result in a true, meaningful break from work. Especially among lower-paid workers, there was a lingering temptation to forsake travel plans in order to spend vacations at home, while the financial contributions earmarked for leisure and tourism, if paid directly to workers as was sometimes the case, were too often diverted and “used for solving other needs (purchasing stores of food for the winter, school needs for children, clothing and footwear, etc.).”³⁷ For some, in other words, the costs of tourism still seemed too high. A recognition of this capacity for division along socio-economic lines suggests, in turn, the value of attending to tourism’s potential to complicate and intensify regional differentiation within Yugoslavia, both among the constituent territories and within them (as seen, for example, in the aggravation of differences between the coastal regions of Croatia and Montenegro and their respective hinterlands).³⁸

At the other end of the spectrum, among the “haves,” tourism offered many prospects for earnings in the grey market, often effectively beyond government regulation and taxation. (Here again, the geographic distribution of such opportunities was anything but even.) Among foreign visitors, for example, a common experience at the train station or bus terminal was the encounter with Yugoslavs letting out private rooms directly, rather than through agencies, as a way of avoiding taxation. The construction of a *vikendica* allowed citizens to make what might become, in effect, a capital outlay that could do double duty for personal leisure. These weekend houses served as productive repositories of surplus wealth in an economic order that largely prohibited individ-

³⁷ Centralno veće Saveza sindikata Jugoslavije, *Odmor i rekreacija* (1968, pp. 9–10).

³⁸ On the transformation of Montenegro’s once-languid coast into a hoped-for “Budva Riviera,” see Martinović (1973).

ual investment. Tourist development thus introduced a small-scale form of capitalist practice into a society that otherwise permitted very few opportunities for such earnings. The extent to which such intrusions of capitalist mentalities and consumerist values ultimately proved subversive of socialist ideals remains an open question, but tourism's significance for the fortunes of the socialist project now seems beyond much doubt.

Travel Expenses: Opportunities, Costs, and Opportunity Costs

While the focus of most recent forays into the history of tourism lies with questions of culture and meaning (no doubt part of a more general trend in professional historiography away from the quantitative social-science modes of the past), tourism remains extraordinarily significant as a matter of a more strictly economic analysis. In the actual practice of any given tourist locale, of course, the domains of economics, culture, politics, and social structure cannot be detached from one another in any strict sense. Yet the writing of tourism history has often become, in essence, "history with the economics left out"—or history with the economics *preconceived*.

Yugoslavs themselves, however, very clearly understood the economics of tourism to be a paramount concern. This was true in both elite and popular circles. They recognized, moreover, that the financial consequences of tourism mattered both as a matter of national and of personal wealth. We would do well, then, to dig more deeply into the significance of economics for the writing of the new, culturally informed versions of tourism history.

Beyond analyses that would focus on the problems that destination countries face as the result of their often difficult position in an international economy of supply and demand,³⁹ there is reason to question whether Yugoslavia's tourism was, in fact, the boon it was said to be. Domestic economic analyses of tourism tended to present a very sunny side indeed. Largely descriptive, rarely skeptical, and almost never severely critical, they were also arguably too narrow in their areas of

³⁹ See, e.g., Diamond (1977, p. 542).

concern. As John Allcock has quite correctly observed, both official and scholarly analyses of the impact of tourism tended to evidence an “almost obsessive concern with the size of the *devizni priliv* [inflow of foreign exchange],” sometimes at the expense of other vital concerns.⁴⁰

Now, in the face of mounting questions about the ultimate consequences of development policies heavily weighted toward tourism, it seems time to re-open the question of the economics of Yugoslav tourism and its relationship with broader social, cultural, and political issues. Throughout most of its history, the socialist federation was, as Allcock put it, “prepared to bet its money on the balance of advantages favoring investment in tourism.”⁴¹ Though this was not an issue that much troubled domestic analysts at the time, or scholars since, we might well wonder whether the bet was, in fact, a good one. In other words, Yugoslavia’s development may have been afflicted with a misdirection of economic assets—and with them, social, educational, and cultural resources—towards the perpetuation of a pattern that, in the end, deprived the society of valuable diversification and depth in a manner not unlike the “oil curse” that some have identified as a major impediment to the healthy development of societies dependent on the extraction of petrochemical wealth. (The phenomenon is sometimes more generally known as “Dutch Disease” and may be the product of an overreliance on extractive resources or individual cash crops at the expense of other sectors such as manufacturing or agriculture more generally.)

The implicit assumption underlying most treatments of tourism in socialist Yugoslavia has been that the fundamental economics were unproblematic. Some fine-tuning here and there may have been in order, most observers concluded, but the profound emphasis on tourism was thought to be essentially sound: Yugoslavs were simply exploiting the available resources wisely, following the venerable principle of comparative advantage. But more recent investigations into the costs and benefits of tourism should give us pause, suggesting that tourism may have involved a misallocation of resources in ways not previously imagined.⁴² If something like this was indeed at work

⁴⁰ Allcock (1986, p. 570).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 566.

⁴² For analysis of the claim that tourism policies may slight other economic sectors, with net-negative aggregate effects, see, e.g., Nowak et al. (2003).

in the Yugoslav case, these unanticipated and hidden costs—a “suntan lotion curse,” as it were—may have helped lay the groundwork for the economic instability, social dislocations, and gross regional disparities that amplified the national resentments underlying the violence of the 1990s. Emerging as they do from what is essentially an infant subfield at the intersection of economics and tourism studies, such questions await further research and analysis, but there are some good reasons to suspect that the dawn of mass-scale tourism might not have been as rosy as has commonly been believed. None of this is to suggest, of course, that the operations of tourism, leisure, and consumption were anything like proximate causes of the federation’s nasty disintegration. Rather, it is a call for an awareness of how, in subtle and previously unrecognized ways, such consumption-related dynamics could figure in the causal mix, feeding into and exacerbating the tensions already present, and giving those who would later organize the division and bloodshed more material to work with. With the disappearance of the good times, there was less in the way of a distinctly “Yugoslav” way of life to hold onto, and the country was deprived of an important sort of social glue. Since tourism appeared to play such an important role in financing that prosperity, and since the culture of leisure proved so central to the notion of a special Yugoslav version of the Good Life, we need to be alert to these deeper, possibly more dismal implications.

As regards the basic narrative history of the dramatic expansion of tourism from the 1950s through the 1980s, and the empirical economic, institutional, and political foundations on which that history rests, much is already known, and little has seemed controversial, at least thus far. While the socialist federation lasted, tourism appeared to be one of the few “sure things” that Yugoslavs and their leaders could count on. It figured in contemporary accounts as a reliable, happy feature of the country’s progress. This at least, the message seemed to be, did not merit much worry. But with the break-up of the country, Yugoslav history has become much more a matter of doubt, confusion, and contestation. Even if we are disinclined to read the multiethnic socialist polity as doomed from the outset, as many have, we must acknowledge the persuasiveness of historical reinterpretations that call us to re-examine the stresses, conflicts, and fractures that complicated the country’s politics and culture throughout its existence. Some critics of Yugoslavia’s hot pursuit of consumer-driven abundance have concluded that it

served, in effect, as a pacifier, an opiate, a delusion, and an exercise in anti-democratic escapism. As one of the most important forms of experiential abundance, tourism was a critical part of the vision of the Good Life that lay at the heart of the Yugoslav Dream, and as such, it may be subject to many of the same misgivings and reservations.

Will the story of Yugoslavia's days in the sun prove to be one of those rare fragments of history that resists the more skeptical (not to say gloomy) readings of the country's past and its fate? The record, as it has been revealed thus far, suggests that indeed it might. In pushing toward a deeper understanding of everyday life and its relationship to broader cultural, political, social, and economic questions, we do need to acknowledge the difficulty of that endeavor and worry over the claim that, as Kenneth Roberts so bluntly put it, the "experiential approach to leisure [...] is still a set of ideas in search of a researchable agenda."⁴³ But because the Yugoslavs themselves cared so much about determining just who was travelling, where they were staying, and similar questions, we have the advantage of a relatively well-developed body of more conventional scholarship that speaks to the sorts of demographic and sociological concerns that traditionalists like Roberts quite rightly insist that we not ignore.

There is a pressing need to revisit what have heretofore been almost unchallenged assumptions about the benefits and outcomes of tourism, travel, and leisure in this most unusual socialist "workers' paradise." At the same time, there is considerable conceptual and empirical freedom to do just that. The outlook is therefore encouraging, as we have begun writing the history of Yugoslavia's sunny side with reference to a new set of questions. These promise to take us at last toward a deeper understanding of what travel and leisure meant for the country and its citizens, and whether the Yugoslavs' long, close embrace of the joys of tourism was a vacation from reality or, instead, a sojourn in the Promised Land.

⁴³ Roberts (1997, p. 377).

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Ulf Brunnbauer, Südost-Institut, Regensburg

Central European University Press

Budapest – New York

Sales and information: ceupress@ceu.hu

Website: <http://www.ceupress.com>

ISBN 978-963-9776-69-2



9 789639 776692

90000>

